Nixon after Three Years *John Osborne*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

A Journal of Politics and the Arts – January 15, 1972, 50 cents

The Lindsay Appeal

Paul R. Wieck

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED.

The book club that's not afraid of books.

Our introductory offer is no different from that of the big book clubs.

Neither is our trial membership.

What is different about The Book Find Club is our commitment to find and offer you books the other clubs shy away from. Books of quality and audacity. Books that deal with the toughest issues of our time. Books of literary merit whose style or subject may not have achieved mass acceptance.

A trial membership entitles you to 4 books for $1.

Every month, members receive the Book Find News. Our editors describe the books they have culled from the thousands published each month and discuss why they feel they're worth your time and thought.

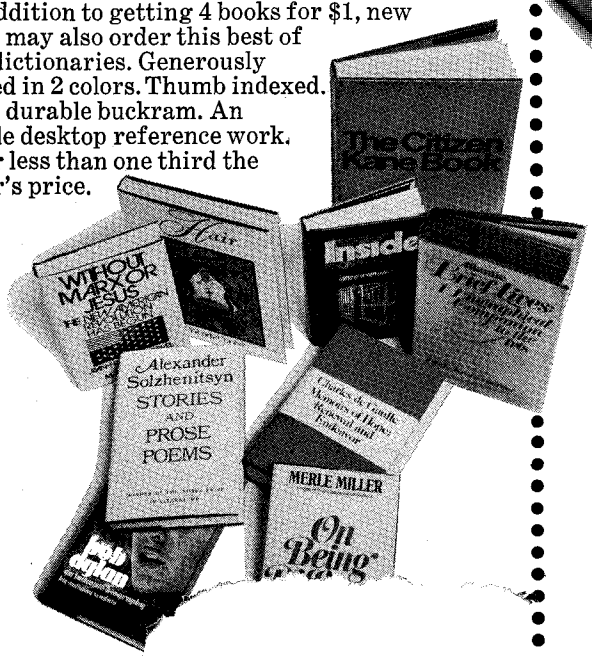
It also tells you exactly how much you save on the publishers' prices for these regular editions (not cheap book club versions). It can be as much as 30%. With a trial membership you can resign after taking only four books. And our bonus book plan begins immediately to help you acquire the books you want at even bigger discounts.

But don't judge us by what we say, judge us by what we select.

You can tell a book club by its covers.

Special for new members: the $15 deluxe edition of The American Heritage Dictionary for only $4.95.

In addition to getting 4 books for $1, new members may also order this best of the new dictionaries. Generously illustrated in 2 colors. Thumb indexed. Bound in durable buckram. An invaluable desktop reference work. Yours for less than one third the publisher's price.



☐ **5270. Our Gang** (Starring Tricky and His Friends). Philip Roth. His first book since Portnoy's Complaint is a satirical examination of the current political scene. Pub. list price $5.95

☐ **2012. The Sex Book:** A Modern Pictorial Encyclopedia. Martin Goldstein, M.D., Erwin J. Haeberle, Ph.D., Will McBride. Straightforward, wholesomely explicit. A modern approach to sex education. Pub. list price $9.95

☐ **2194. Wonderland.** Joyce Carol Oates. Another fictional tour de force by the *National Book Award winner.* Pub. list price $7.95

☐ **1220. The Female Eunuch.** Germaine Greer. Pub. list price $6.95

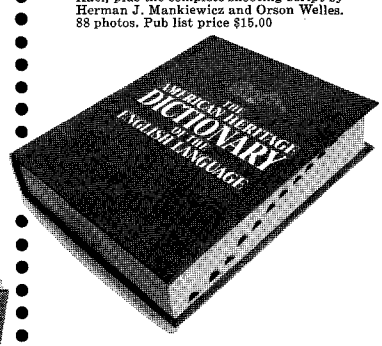
☐ **5379. The Defense Never Rests.** F. Lee Bailey with Harvey Aronson. America's most controversial lawyer writes about himself and his trials: Sam Sheppard, Carl Coppolino, The Boston Strangler and others. Pub. list price $7.95

☐ **5072. Memoirs of Hope:** Renewal and Endeavor. Charles de Gaulle. His private journals covering his return to power through the reconstruction of France after Algeria. Pub. list price $10.00

☐ **5262. Bob Dylan:** An Intimate Biography. Anthony Scaduto. A sensitive study of the influential musical poet. Pub. list price $7.95

☐ **3705. On Being Different:** What It Means to Be a Homosexual. Merle Miller. Courageous, moving account of the author's own experience. Pub. list price $4.50

☐ **2202. The Citizen Kane Book.** "Raising Kane: A Film and its History" by Pauline Kael, plus the complete shooting script by Herman J. Mankiewicz and Orson Welles. 88 photos. Pub list price $15.00



☐ **2210. Hair:** Sex, Society, Symbolism. Wendy Cooper. The definitive study—history, symbolism, sexuality, myths and legends, fashions and fads, male and female. Profusely illustrated. Pub. list price $12.95

☐ **2095. Atlantic Brief Lives:** A Biographical Companion to the Arts. Over 1000 biographies, over 200 essays on the great creative figures by today's leading artists and critics. Pub. list price $15.00

☐ **1717. Stories and Prose Poems.** Alexander Solzhenitsyn. A new collection. Pub. list price $7.95

☐ **1576. Inside:** Prison American Style. Robert J. Minton, Jr. Our chambers of horrors from within. Pub. list price $7.95

☐ **3291. Without Marx or Jesus:** The New American Revolution Has Begun. Jean-Francois Revel. A startling French view of America as the best hope for social transformation. Pub. list price $6.95

☐ **3416. Louis:** The Louis Armstrong Story. Max Jones and John Chilton. The real Satchmo. Jazz, prohibition day mobsters, race, religion, kicking the drug habit. Pub. list price $9.50

☐ **5296. Dealer:** Portrait of a Cocaine Merchant. Richard Woodley. Today's Horatio Alger story of our inner cities: "dealing"—for profit. Pub. list price $5.95

☐ **3697. The Naked Children.** Daniel Fader. The significant report of a year-long experiment in teaching "unteachable" children to read. Pub. list price $6.95

☐ **5304. Dear Scott/Dear Max:** The Fitzgerald-Perkins Correspondence. The intimate working relationship between editor and author. Pub. list price $7.95

☐ **3374. Who Owns America?** Walter J. Hickel. The "non-conservationist" Secretary of Interior who became an ecological embarrassment to Nixon tells his story. Pub. list price $6.95

☐ **1089. Cuba:** The Pursuit of Freedom. Hugh Thomas. Monumental history from 18th century to Castro. Pub. list price $20.00

☐ **3309. Coming Apart:** An Informal History of America in the 1960's. William O'Neill. Mirror of a distorted decade. Pub. list price $12.50

☐ **1675. "Do You Sincerely Want to Be Rich?"** The Full Story of Bernard Cornfeld and I.O.S. Godfrey Hodgson, Bruce Page, Charles Raw. Incisive investigative journalism. Pub. list price $8.95

☐ **1725. The Lively Commerce:** Prostitution in the United States. Charles Winick, Paul M. Kinsie. Everything you ever wanted to know about prostitution. Pub. list price $8.95

☐ **1618. The Prisoner of Sex.** Norman Mailer. Brilliant discussion of the sexes, sexuality, humanity. Pub. list price $5.95

☐ **1741. Upstate:** Records and Recollections of Northern New York. Edmund Wilson. A great critic's account of the meaning of change in his rural community. Pub. list price $8.95

☐ **4257. The Greening of America.** Charles A. Reich. Pub. list price $7.95

The Book Find Club

132 West 43rd Street, New York 10036

Please send me the 4 books whose boxes I've checked and bill me $1 plus shipping and handling.

Enroll me as a trial member of The Book Find Club. I need accept as few as 4 additional selections in the next 12 months, always at substantial savings off the publisher's price, plus shipping and handling. I may cancel at any time thereafter.

I understand that I will receive the free Book Find News which fully describes each month's selections and alternates. If I do not wish to receive a current selection, or I wish an alternate instead, I may advise you by using the convenient reply card provided with each Book Find News. If I do want the current selection, I need do nothing and it will be automatically sent to me.

Name_____
(please print)

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

☐ Check here if you also want the $15 American Heritage Dictionary for $4.95 plus shipping and handling. (Your introductory selections and the dictionary may arrive in separate packages.)

21NRA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You can save Sung Soon for $15.00 a month. Or you can turn the page.

Sung Soon Choi.
A ten year old Korean boy.
Living with his parents and two brothers in a mud and straw thatched house. No electricity. No water. No medical care. Trying not to let on to his family how hungry he is when their meager food is passed around.

If you ever thought of helping a child like Sung Soon, now is the time to do it. For only $15.00 a month, you can sponsor a child like Sung Soon. So that he can continue his schooling. So that his parents, through an interest-free loan, can start raising chickens. To help themselves earn more than the twenty-five dollars a month they now earn.

That's what Save the Children Federation is all about. Helping people—indeed, helping entire communities—to help themselves. So that the villagers in Sung Soon's town can even start to raise cows to benefit everyone.

And for you, there are many rewards. The chance to correspond with a child. To receive a photograph. And progress reports. And, above all, knowing you are reaching out to another human being.

That's how Save the Children works. But without you, it can't work. So please: clip this coupon and mail it today. Now you can turn the page.

Save the Children Federation, founded in 1932, is registered with the U.S. State Department Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Contributions are income tax deductible.

I wish to contribute $15.00 a month to sponsor a ☐ boy ☐ girl:

☐ Where the need is most urgent ☐ Europe
☐ American Indian ☐ Latin America ☐ Middle East
☐ Appalachia ☐ Vietnam ☐ Korea
☐ Africa ☐ India ☐ Southern U.S.

Enclosed is my first payment

☐ $15.00 monthly
☐ $45.00 quarterly ☐ Instead, enclosed is my contribution of $____
☐ $90.00 semi-annually ☐ Please send me more information.
☐ $180.00 annually

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION
NORWALK, CONNECTICUT 06852

NR 1/15/2

The New Republic is published 48 weeks per year at $12, by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey Inc., 1244 19th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Second-class postage at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB

from Washington ®

The Nixon TV Show

First there was an advertisement of Montgomery Ward, and then one for the March of Dimes, and after that the announcer, as though apologizing to millions for depriving them of their favorite broadcast, took us into the White House and there was Dan Rather about to ask Richard Nixon questions for the next hour. It carried right back to 1960.

Only in 1960 it wasn't a respectful newsman asking questions but young Jack Kennedy in the Nixon-Kennedy debates, a relatively unknown Catholic senator, running for the presidency, with most of the press against him, a ghastly campaign deficit and the polls giving Vice President Nixon a comfortable margin, 50-44, after the conventions.

Mr. Nixon last week may have recalled 1960. He is a man of television; the Checkers speech was a brilliant tour de force; the 1960 debate probably cost him the election; the 1968 victory was an expert job of packaging; the ill-natured Phoenix speech in 1970 (attacking youthful dissidents) helped create Edmund Muskie. Since then he has used TV time and again for stunning, dazzling prime-time announcements while almost dropping old-fashioned press conferences.

There is a school of thought in America that regards the President as sacrosanct, a kind of monarch, who shouldn't be questioned by lesser folk and to attack whom, is lese majesty. It is a tough assignment for a critical interviewer, knowing that he is talking to a man who is part political leader and part Sacred Cow, trying to be respectful without being obsequious and all the time pushed forward by professional pride in his craft. Dan Rather for CBS was calm, dead-pan, matter-of-fact, with an icy delivery of questions some of which were brutally direct. Of course everybody watched to see how the President reacted in this, the evident opening of his "nonpolitical" campaign for reelection. It was all on a very, very high level.

"Mr. President," Rather said in effect, "you told *Time* magazine last week that Vietnam will not be an issue in the campaign 'as far as this administration is concerned because we will have brought the American involvement to an end.' Does ending American involvement mean total withdrawal?"

Mr. Nixon said no, it didn't, not so long as Hanoi holds a single POW.

(A good many of us wonder whether Mr. Nixon is holding US troops there to get the POWs out, or using the POWs as an excuse to keep troops in.)

"Mr. President," continued Rather, "you said in March, 1971, that 'under no circumstances' would you normalize relations with China if that meant Taiwan's expulsion from the UN. How come?"

Mr. Nixon said it was a good thing to end the freeze with China.

Rather quoted the 1968 Nixon pledge to fix the economy "without increasing unemployment," which has actually risen from 3.6 to 6 percent. How come? Mr. Nixon blamed war demobilization. Rather quoted the 1968 Nixon pledge to farmers to better the "intolerable" 74 percent parity level but instead it has now dropped to 70 percent. How come? Mr. Nixon said yes, it has dropped, but look at how he had reduced troops in Vietnam and look at his move in China.

His interlocutor paused with an expressionless face and then asked the next question. It was all quite impersonal. Polls, he said, gave Mr. Nixon high marks for decisiveness, for willingness to change. But about half of those queried, he noted, "said that you had failed to inspire confidence and faith and lacked personal warmth and compassion. Why," asked Rather, with the interest of one housewife asking another about a biscuit recipe, "do you suppose that is?"

The question may have been unfair, but the situation, like the debate with Jack Kennedy, was one that Mr. Nixon had brought upon himself. It is a crucial issue, too; the election may turn on it – the question of presidential personality. Mr. Nixon replied reasonably enough that "my strong point is not rhetoric, it isn't showmanship; what counts," he said, "is performance." A valid answer, we think. But the President couldn't quite let it go at that or carry it off. It recalled the uncomfortable defensive look when he was under the hot lights in Chicago in 1960 in the first debate with Kennedy. Teddy White recalls it in his *The Making of the President, 1960* – "tense, almost frightened, at turns glowering, and occasionally haggard-looking to the point of sickness . . . half slouched, his 'Lazy Shave' powder faintly streaked with sweat, his eyes exaggerated hollows of blackness, his jaw, jowls, and face drooping with strain."

Nothing like that now; just a hint. He conceded that he had made mistakes, but couldn't quite let things drop at that. He explained, a little defensively, "My strong point, if I have a strong point, is performance. I always do more than I say. I always produce more than I promise." After making this breathtaking comment, he dashed off to California to Prime Minister Sato to try to square things with Japan, which shows some signs of alienation. We wonder how long Mr. Nixon can sustain this peculiar mixture of lofty rhetoric, rapid movement, self-righteousness, and politics-by-indirection?

Bayer's Aspirin pain-reliever was the thing, as we recall it, that introduced Edmund Muskie's ten-minute CBS broadcast last week announcing his formal candidacy. The talk, we thought, was rather wooden and lacked the zest of his 1970 reply to Mr. Nixon. Speakers who use teleprompters tend to freeze up and, in this instance, the only variation of the candidate's face on the screen was whether we got him fairly close up or very close up. The senator did better at a press conference in Washington next day, relaxed and natural, with a quick smile darting across his plain, homely face. He showed a lot of humor and we felt relieved. There is, though, always just beneath the surface, the lurking hint of that Muskie temper. We may see it blow yet.

Meanwhile, columnist Jack Anderson reveals a new batch of secret official papers showing again the administration's saying one thing and doing another. The Pakistan crisis, the cooling of Japan, the bombing of Vietnam – is there some abrasive factor, some inner malaise in the administration, that makes for alienation?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 166, No. 3, Issue 2977, January 15, 1972. Published weekly (except the issues of January 1, July 29, August 12 and August 26, 1972) and distributed by* The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 50¢. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright 1972 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D.C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

Contents

-8 Comment
What's the End of the Beginning?
Work and Welfare, Cable Snarl,
Forgetting Mylai, Let's Find Out
9 Coal's Congressmen – *Ward Sinclair*
0 Bad Blood – *Ruth K. Franklin*
4 The Nixon Watch: After Three Years – *John Osborne*
5 What Are the Polls Telling Us – *Louis H. Bean*
7 Land Empires – *James Rowen*
9 The Lindsay Appeal – *Paul R. Wieck*
4 Television – *Nicholas Johnson*
5 Books – Review by *Stanley Kauffmann*
6 Poem – *Reed Whittemore*
8 Education: West German Universities – *Robert Wuliger*
4 Correspondence

The Staff

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – David Sanford
Literary Editor – Reed Whittemore
Films and Theater – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editor – John Osborne
West Coast Editor – Peter Barnes
Production Manager – Ira Klafter
Assistant to the Editors – Gwen Somers
Contributing Editors –
Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein,
Donald Canty, Robert Coles
Joseph Featherstone, Zalin B. Grant,
Gerald W. Johnson, Melville J. Ulmer,
Allen S. Whiting, Paul R. Wieck
London Correspondent – Anthony Howard
Staff Writers – Eliot Marshall,
Daniel Zwerdling
Publisher – Robert J. Myers
Circulation Manager – Mary Kurtz
Business Manager – Pearl Wilmer Ramsey
Advertising Director – F. F. McAdams
20 West 43rd St., New York, N.Y. 10036

What's the End Of the Beginning?

We waited so long for Senator Muskie's formal confession of candidacy that when it came we found we'd lost our appetite. Perhaps the edge of excitement is always dulled by formal announcements, which carry with them the smell of the museum; the setting seems to permit only the most subdued enthusiasm, ruling out altogether any applause. We must confess also to having been distracted throughout the TV talk by the senator's left index finger, as it repeatedly rubbed the thumb of the hand that gripped the arm rest of a borrowed wing chair, set in that empty room in a Maine summer house that had been opened for the big occasion. It was as if all impulse, spontaneity and anxiety had been compressed in that gnawing gesture. And yet the senator's performance was pleasant, in a placid way, as befits Muskie's temperament and intent. It was something like a Roosevelt fireside chat without the fireside or Roosevelt. Mr. Muskie came through, as he did in 1968, as a nice man, a fatherly man, and that may be the quality that is decisive if he's nominated and opposes Richard Nixon. Then the line the senator wants drawn will be: Ed Integrity, the good country doctor, against Dick Deception, the snake-oil salesman.

The "new beginning" that Senator Muskie proffers now joins its illustrious predecessors: the New Nationalism of Theodore Roosevelt, the New Freedom of Woodrow Wilson, the New Deal of FDR and the New Frontier of John F. Kennedy. All new administrations are new and they have to begin somewhere. Yet neither the phrase nor the senator's talk tell us what we ought to begin doing as a nation. Nor could one expect him to explain that in 10 minutes. He will tell us more between now and July. We hope it is not more of the same. For if it is, the argument for denying the incumbent a second term will seem thin. Mr. Nixon may be beset by catastrophies that none of us can predict, or should hope for, but barring that the Democrats will be contending with an opponent who is adept at picking up a popular idea when he sees it and bending it to his purposes. He knows politics. If the Democrats are counting on generating mass excitement for their cause on the negative issue of the President's untrustworthiness, they are counting too much on too little.

We are not suggesting that Muskie or anyone else go in for demagoguery as an antidote to boredom, or for a strategy of contrived populism that feeds on paranoia and panic. We are suggesting only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Democrats think hard about hard problems and tell us honestly what they believe can be done in the next four years, accepting the fact, as Reinhold Niebuhr did, that democracy is a process of finding "proximate solutions for insoluble problems." It is conceivable that no Democratic candidate can speak candidly about the real choices we have, and be elected. But if the Democrats do not speak in that spirit, they have little claim to our allegiance. If their principal difference with Mr. Nixon is over details, they are talking about things that can be resolved by conference committees; they are not talking about significant alternatives to the policies of this administration. And if all they offer is boiler-plate liberal lingo, they are intellectually bankrupt and equally undeserving.

Let's take one issue that Richard Nixon put at the top of his political agenda in 1968 – crime. It was intolerable, he said, and it was intolerable, for Americans to live in fear, unsafe in their homes, hardly daring to venture into the streets of cities after sunset. Nixon would put a stop to that. But he has not put a stop to it. Our cities are armed jungles; whites and blacks are besieged; our court system, overburdened, is on the verge of collapse; our corrections system does not work; the deterrent effect of the criminal law has broken down – and this after three years of Nixon law and order. The latest FBI figures show that serious crimes are still on the rise, that from January through September of last year they numbered 4,426,000, an increase of about 250,000 over the same period in 1970. The family jewels aren't even safe in the Pierre hotel. The Democrats would be wrong to take satisfaction from these grim statistics – wrong because to take satisfaction in disaster is revolting; wrong because they have not, as a party or through any identifiable spokesman, explained precisely how they would propose to reverse the trend.

What do we want from our leaders? Candor and common sense, and beyond that a sense of history and of opportunity. How are the cities to be saved, how are the schools to educate, how are the unskilled unemployed to find useful jobs, how are the aged and the sick to be cared for, how are the blacks to gain confidence in themselves and the country, how are the young to find hope and work that's worth doing, how is the world to learn that it has nothing to fear from American power and much to gain from it?

Nobody expects any presidential candidate to give us even partial answers by tomorrow afternoon. It will be enough if they show they are grappling with real problems and not just the politics of those problems. The public doesn't need its hand held; it needs its head and heart instructed, so that it can understand and feel how America is to recover its buoyancy. As to which candidate can best do that, we reserve judgment, approaching this campaign in a mood of mild dissatisfaction, reserved expectations and hope that something more promising is put forward than "Trust me."

Work and Welfare

In its cheerful year-end review of administration proposals in Congress, the White House predicted passage this year for the social security reform bill, HR 1. As passed by the House, HR 1 includes under Title IV Nixon's controversial Family Assistance Plan, which would replace welfare with a federal income subsidy program guaranteeing every family of four at least $2400 a year. Senator Russell Long (D, La.) has promised to have a bill out of the Senate Finance Committee and onto the floor by March 1. But what kind of bill will it be?

Although White House aides insist that the President views it as one of the two most important matters before Congress, his own speeches have treated welfare with increasing sourness. In his labor-day address he spoke of people who "deliberately avoid work by going on welfare," and in vetoing the child-care bill last December he demeaned it as "the most radical piece of legislation" to come from Congress. Most recently, December 28, he signed into law a set of new welfare work restrictions that relieves some of the pressure for passage of HR 1. The amendments require all able-bodied, unemployed welfare recipients older than 16 to register in the Work Incentive Program and accept jobs or training. He praised the forced-work amendments saying, "We are a nation that pays tribute to the working man and rightly scorns the freeloader who voluntarily opts to be a ward of the state." Such sentiments inevitably raise doubts about the depth and sincerity of the President's commitment to the principle of guaranteed minimum income. In fact, he has said he opposes the concept of "a guaranteed income," although his own bill actually embraces it.

Finance Committee Chairman Long, a powerful senator, firmly believes the present welfare system is a "subsidy on illegitimacy" because it doesn't provide for tracking down fathers of illegitimate children or cutting off welfare to unmarried couples. He's preoccupied with the possibilities for fraud, and he's convinced that people should be pressured to take socially undesirable jobs, if no others are available. One of his plans for aiding the poor is to make it tax-deductible to hire domestic servants; he thinks this would create millions of new jobs. Sometime soon, perhaps in his version of HR 1, Long intends to set out a federal child-support law authorizing the government to search out deserting fathers and bring them home.

Although Long's opinions dominate Senate welfare discussions, they really aren't relevant to the problem of aiding the worst-off Americans. HEW has testified that the incidence of fraud among welfare recipients is about four-tenths of one percent, and that the number of employable men on welfare is similarly low, perhaps 126,000. No doubt there is some cheating, but nothing to compare with estimates by IRS that 34 percent of private interest income goes unreported, or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that three percent of salary taxes are lost to fraud.

Senator Abraham Ribicoff (D, Conn.) is one of the few members of the Finance Committee who likes the principle of setting a reasonable guaranteed minimum income. He has written 15 amendments to HR 1 to make it more humane, but there's not much chance the committee will approve them. His fight won't begin until the bill reaches the Senate floor next March.

Perhaps the most important Ribicoff amendment is the one that guarantees that no present welfare payments will be lowered by enactment of HR 1. Under its present terms, cutbacks could occur in 45 states. Another Ribicoff amendment would provide fiscal relief to the states in proportion to benefits they must pay out, making the federal government responsible for all welfare costs by July 1976. Without this guarantee, states would be forced to reduce benefits, as 20 have done since the summer of 1970. New York is one of the states trying to execute a welfare purge by requiring recipients to come in and sign up for jobs. The state has even begun experimenting with a "brownie point" system that would try to define each family's social worth and regulate payments accordingly.

Ribicoff has proposed that HR 1's work requirements be lightened to allow mothers of preschool children to stay at home if they choose not to use day care centers. He would delete penalties for refusing work below the minimum wage, and increase the funding for skilled-job training. HR 1 as now written would assure a basic federal payment of $2400 for a family of four with no income; Ribicoff would raise this to $2800 – which is still $1000 below the official poverty line.

The Family Assistance Plan is more than a year overdue, having been aborted on its first trip through the Senate in 1970 because Finance Committee members wouldn't come to terms on it. This year we can expect an emasculated remnant of HR 1 to appear in the Senate by March, but it will probably be loaded down with Senator Long's kind of reform. With strong assistance from the White House, however, the original can be revived, and improved.

Cable Snarl

The government has often been accused of bypassing the public interest in deference to major industries. Not often, however, can that charge be proved by extrinsic evidence. An exception is the recent compromise arranged by the White House to quiet the big broadcasters' worries about a newcomer to the competitive market – cable TV. This backroom executive arrangement provides an excellent example of big government favoritism toward big industry and of high-level indifference to the Federal Communications Commission – which Congress has authorized to be the regulator of broadcasting in "the public interest, convenience and necessity."

It was Clay T. Whitehead, director of the President's Office of Telecommunications Policy, who brought "interested parties" together last November and coaxed them into a compromise. The "interested parties," needless to say, did not include any representative of the viewing public. The invitation list was limited to the existing cable television industry, the largest broadcasters and the copyright holders (motion picture industry). Under the agreement they reached, cable television will be permitted to grow somewhat in the smaller markets (smaller than, say, Little Rock, Arkansas), but will be stymied in the top 50 markets.

By terms of the compromise, no cable TV operator will be allowed to show syndicated programs in a big city if a regular TV station has already signed a contract for the same show. For example, if NBC in New York City has a five-year contract to air "I Love Lucy" or "Gunga Din," no cable channel there can broadcast either program while the contract holds. This "programming exclusivity" has been softened slightly for markets below the top 50; there, contracts will be exclusive for no more than two years. Cable TV systems, because they have been restrained by an intentional freeze while the FCC has deliberated what to do with them, are not wealthy enough to compete with network affiliates on contract bidding. If cable operators can't buy canned, high-appeal shows in the big cities, they may never build up the audiences they need to finance more specialized programs.

The big 50 cities are the logical spawning grounds for cable TV because they hold the largest audiences with the greatest potential for diverse programming. Nevertheless, residents of these cities – about 75 percent of our population – will be cheated out of this benefit, in order that large broadcasters and copyright owners can be protected.

On August 5, 1971, the FCC had adopted, unanimously, a "Letter of Intent" that would have allowed a freer development of cable television, most significantly because it left the question of program exclusivity entirely to the courts and Congress. Itself a compromise, the letter followed one of the most thorough samplings of the full range of public opinion on an issue ever taken by the FCC. All this raises a substantial question about the legality, and certainly the propriety, of a secret, backdoor approach to policy-making by power blocs operating through the White House *after* hearings have been held and the responsible agency's decision has been made. Whether in this instance the Administrative Procedure Act was violated by the White House may be someday disposed of by the courts, but that a cynical disrespect for the spirit of that act has been shown is obvious.

Having been handed a *fait accompli* by FCC Chairman Burch, who had used his office to help hammer the compromise together, the FCC is now considering

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what to do about it. Some of the FCC commissioners would prefer to stick to their August 5 position, leaving room for expansion of cable TV into big city markets. Others believe that approach has been blown sky high by the Whitehead-Burch deal, and that cable TV regulations must be redefined from scratch. The FCC is in a curious position. If the commissioners accept the compromise handed them, their standing as "independent" regulators will have been further undermined. If they persist in adopting their own rules, the broadcasters – who speak loudly and carry a very big stick in an election year – are sure to force the issue into a congressional committee hearing. If that happens, cable television will not only be kept out of the big cities, it will be virtually dead until the hearings are over – which could take years.

Forgetting Mylai

Col. Oran K. Henderson, the army commander whose brigade killed over 100 Vietnamese men, women and children at the hamlet of Mylai 4 in March 1968, was acquitted last month of covering up investigations of the massacre. And so, the biggest war-crimes case of the Indochina war came to a close. Twenty-five officers and soldiers originally were charged, some for murder and others for suppressing information after public exposés compelled a military investigation two years ago. The military dropped charges against all but six. Only one was convicted: Lt. William Calley, Jr., of murdering "not less than 22" civilians and "assault with intent to murder a small child." Calley, after the longest trial in military history, was sentenced to life imprisonment; a day later, the President ordered him moved to his quarters under light guard and promised personally to review the case after the US Court of Military Appeals. Calley's sentence has already been commuted to 20 years by the Third Army commander.

The army is bringing administrative "disciplinary actions" against a handful of men still in the service, where there is "insufficient evidence for criminal charges," according to army spokesman Stan Fisk, but where there's "no question as to whether or not they were culpable for certain acts" (murdering civilians?) which do not "meet the professional standards that the army and nation expect."

Most of the other men involved in the Mylai investigation have left the service, and the public isn't likely to learn what they did or didn't do, because the Pentagon has announced it will not release its Mylai investigative report. Former Secretary Stanley Resor had promised to publish it, but "we have a new secretary now," says a Pentagon spokesman. Capt. Ernest Medina, the company commander who led the Mylai attack, admitted during the Henderson trial that he had lied when he reported only 20 civilians killed; he knew the number was more than five times greater. Medina was acquitted of murder and manslaughter last September. Now he's an executive at a helicopter company in Menominee, Mich.

The American people understandably prefer not to judge, lest they be judged. A nationwide study last spring by Harvard University researchers showed that three-quarters of those interviewed thought the Calley trial was too harsh; 67 percent said they themselves would shoot "old men, women and children" under orders; 82 percent thought other Americans would too.

Let's Find Out

Again, there has been a clarification of policy on Vietnam which does not clarify. The confusion arises out of a dispute between the President and Senator McGovern (among others) over what Hanoi demands in return for the release of American POWs. The President triggered the debate by telling a CBS interviewer that these "international outlaws" in North Vietnam had said "no deal" on freeing the prisoners in exchange for an announced date for US military withdrawal. McGovern then accused the President of deception, and said that the offer had never been made by the administration. Within 24 hours, another background briefing by a White House spokesman conceded that Mr. Nixon hadn't exactly made that offer, but that he had concluded from what has been said in Paris, that no deal could be arranged because "the North Vietnamese are still demanding what they have always demanded, that we pull the rug out from beneath the South Vietnamese government." This is how the administration interprets Hanoi's statement last July, that the US must "respect the South Vietnamese peoples' right to self-determination, put an end to its interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam," and specifically, cease its efforts to maintain the present Saigon government in power.

Two questions arise. The first is whether this demand of Hanoi is inseparable, as the White House insists, from an offer to let the prisoners go if a deadline for withdrawal is fixed and met. Senator McGovern believes the two are separable; the President doesn't. We are inclined to think the senator is right, but we are not sure. And we would note in passing that by prisoners, Hanoi means all prisoners, not just Americans, which complicates the problem further.

The second, related, question is whether Hanoi has in mind to hold prisoners unless and until the President, formally and explicitly, announces his nonsupport of the present Saigon regime. We are not mind readers, but that is not our understanding of the situation. We read Hanoi as saying that the war will go on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so long as the US government acts on the belief that the survival of Thieu is vital to its national interest. But if that belief were discarded, if Mr. Nixon were to decide, as he ought, that Thieu is not worth the price we pay for him, it would not follow that the President would have to collaborate in Thieu's overthrow. All Washington need do is allow Vietnamization full play, leaving the political and economic future of Vietnam for the Vietnamese to decide.

These opinions of ours are speculative, but they could be put to the test. One way of testing them was suggested by Max Frankel in *The New York Times* of January 4: "American negotiators have wondered why the North Vietnamese have not played on American feelings by offering an unambiguous exchange of prisoners for ground and air withdrawal." We have wondered something else. Why doesn't Mr. Nixon offer an unambiguous cessation of all US military action in Vietnam, the pulling out of our forces by a definite date – contingent on Hanoi's agreement to set free US prisoners by that date, and assurances of safe exit for our troops? That proposal might produce a clarification that clarifies.

Coal's Congressmen

Strip-mining is ripping up the land at the rate of a little more than a square mile a day. By 1965 it had torn up enough terrain to make a solid belt three miles wide from New York to Chicago. By 1980 that belt will have widened to 11 miles. House and Senate Interior subcommittees are talking about legislation early in 1972. The bills they mark up will be the product of hearings last fall that were distinguished by high absenteeism, shallow staff preparation, deference to the mining industry, inane utterances and little perspective on the human side of strip-mining.

Coal, because it is so abundant and because we use so much of it, is the principal villain. Three decades ago only 10 percent of the country's coal came from strip mines. Reliant on cheap prices of strip coal, public utilities generate more than half our electricity with coal. High and steady mining profits have lured the oil companies into the field and they now control a majority of the 50 largest coal firms. The major oil companies are cornering the entire energy market – coal, uranium reserves, synthetic gas and crude oil research subsidies, taking leases on millions of acres of mineral-rich public lands – and threaten to wipe out all vestiges of competition. The exploding demand for coal at home and abroad, the absence of real regulation and the development of monstrously large mining machines have contributed to the rapid growth of stripping, which next year for the first time will account for more than half of all US coal mined.

That's not all. There is every expectation that the robust coal industry will become even healthier in the near future as federal funds, voted by Congress last year, spur development of the coal gasification process – the conversion of coal to gas, which banks on the availability of the billions of tons of strippable coal reserves in the far western states. The process, when perfected commercially, will live or die on ready access to federally owned coal lands, on not very demanding reclamation requirements and on the cheapest and most expedient mining method – stripping.

With no federal control and little or no state policing, stripping until now has remained hidden largely in the recesses of Appalachia's closet of social and environmental horrors, defiling forested hillsides and befouling river systems with silt and acid pollution. Coal lands in Iowa, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota and the Southwest are being opened to the strip machines and the devastation will be seen in all the 27 states where coal is known to exist.

The stripping technique (or surface mining, as the industry calls it) is relatively simple. It means merely peeling the surface off a mineral deposit – be it phosphate, limestone, copper, iron ore, sand and gravel or coal. Unless reclamation is attempted, the mess is left behind. The stripper cuts and runs. The huge machines now available to the strippers (some can gouge down nearly 200 feet) are making underground mining less and less attractive. Those machines, of course, make underground miners obsolete as well, but the United Mine Workers (UMW) of Tony Boyle is so reliant on welfare-fund royalties from stripped coal that it feverishly opposes the ban on strip-mining that is proposed by Rep. Ken Hechler (D, W. Va.). The square-mile statistics don't begin to depict the devastation. Water tables and drainage patterns are altered. Erosion is hastened as forests and slopes are denuded, and flash-flooding becomes common in places where it never was a problem. In the mountains of Kentucky, Virginia and West Virginia, massive landslides of strip-mine residue block highways and engulf homes. Wildlife habitat is destroyed. Acid and silt snuff out aquatic life in the streams; ponds and reservoirs are poisoned. Ugly highwalls – man-made cliffs where mountainsides are stripped – ruin the scenery and threaten the tourist potential of the industry-poor Appalachian states, which have little other hope of income.

Congressional hearings, particularly on the House side, have given little exposure to the human side of strip-mining. The damage to people, communities and tax bases and the threat to future economic development of stripped-out regions have been muffled by the apparently more overriding concern that Los Angeles, Chicago and New York not suffer electricity shortages.

A House subcommittee, headed by Rep. Ed Edmond-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son (D, Okla.), merits separate study for its bull-headedness. Hearing dates on strip-mining were scheduled, then postponed; scheduled, then again postponed. A supposed series of field trips was cut down to one – to a model reclamation project in Ohio – on the grounds that time ran short. (Three subcommittee members then found time enough to junket for a week in Spain.) The idea of touring the lunarscapes of Kentucky, the largest strip-coal state, apparently wasn't even contemplated. Four eastern Kentuckians, including writer-lawyer Harry Caudill, one of Appalachia's best-known advocates, asked to be heard but never were, because none of them received confirmation letters the subcommittee insisted had been mailed. The other anti-strip witnesses who did get to testify were received caustically, as though the burden of proof rested with them. Rep. Hechler himself was greeted like an enemy. He likened the hostile questioning to "a determination of some members to drive the evil spirit out of me . . . to get me to recant." The subcommittee denied him the privilege of inserting certain material in the hearing record and denied the use of expert-witness assistance, a subcommittee rule that changed when others took the stand.

A Hechler backer, Rep. John Seiberling (D, Ohio), of the tire-making Seiberlings, got a similar reception. Chairman Edmondson, a likely Senate candidate whose success could depend on the Oklahoma oil industry's warmness toward him, wondered if Seiberling would endorse a ban on "pollution-causing" auto tires as keenly as a ban on strip-mining. In all his days, the Ohioan responded, he'd never heard that auto tires were a significant source of air pollution but, of course, if they were, he'd be opposed to them. Rep. Craig Hosmer (R, Calif.) who owns a pile of oil and electric-utility stocks, warned Seiberling, "You are going to kill a lot of my people when you don't let coal come up from the mines . . . don't tell me it's [a ban] not going to cost human lives."

When James Branscome, director of a Kentucky anti-strip-mine coalition, warned that strippers were "making revolutionaries out of mountain people" ex-FBI agent Edmondson went for the jugular. "Are you one of those revolutionaries?" he demanded. Edmondson would not let him continue until he heard the denial. The chairman finally gaveled Branscome into silence when Branscome refused to explain why he felt Hechler had been mistreated. Give the press a copy of my complaint and I'll answer you, Branscome said. "You're excused! We don't take terms from witnesses," Edmondson said with a whack of the gavel.

So it went. The best came from the Interior subcommittee member whose state has been hurt most by strip-mining. Rep. James Kee (D, W. Va.), who talks like a member of the Washington Coal Club, which he is, said it like a true industry flunky: "You ban strip-mining and America will be relegated down to a fifth, sixth, seventh-class nation because we will have to go hat in hand for fuel in foreign lands." Stripping, as he sees it, is a "blessing in disguise," providing sunshine for the wildlife and halting fires in the strip-cleared forests.

His colleagues sat in respectful awe as Kee barked at witness Si Galperin, Jr., a West Virginia state senator whose futile effort to get a ban on stripping there set off a wild furor this year: "I don't find any people hollering about abolishing strip-mining. Quite the contrary." Depends on the clubs one joins.

Ward Sinclair

MR. SINCLAIR *is a correspondent in Washington, DC, for the Louisville* Courier-Journal.

Outlawing Paid Donors

Bad Blood

Proposals that would authorize tax deductions for blood donors are soon to be considered by the House of Representatives, and this should occasion a long overdue look at the patterns of blood giving. We draw about six-million pints a year and an increasing proportion, now about one-third, comes from paid donors. Blood from paid donors is at least 10 times as likely to carry hepatitis as is blood drawn from volunteers – odds of 200-to-one per unit as compared with 20-to-one – and at least 3000 persons a year die of transfusion-associated hepatitis. There is no adequate screening test whatsoever for prospective donors, and no immunization yet for prospective recipients.

The paid-donor's blood is suspect for several reasons. The ready cash, usually five-to-ten dollars, attracts persons who have no other source of subsistence. Their diet and sanitary habits are poor and they are therefore likely to have contracted serum hepatitis at some point, perhaps unknowingly (unlike infectious hepatitis, which has a far more visible and immediate impact on the body). The use of needles in conjunction with drugs also transmits hepatitis. Among the young in particular, the symptoms may be so mild as to go wholly undetected, but the victim nevertheless becomes a carrier indefinitely. Such contamination is especially likely in congested areas, where diseases spread rapidly and medical care is minimal. Most commercial blood banks are located in precisely such areas, where they are accessible to precisely such donors. It has been observed that the surest way of locating a city's slums is to look in the Yellow Pages under Blood Banks. The so-called Oooze-for-Booze donor is likely to lie about his health record – and there is no way of verification until the recipient of his blood comes down with hepatitis – and to give a false

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

name and address. He may even, for a quarter, rent a false social security card to use as identification at the various blood banks he may frequent.

Those are the paid donors; who are the volunteers? One reliable study of unpaid donors in San Francisco, where the Irwin Memorial Blood Bank meets all of the city's needs wholly through volunteers, shows that they are above average in income, in education, and in church-going. They are somewhat younger than average, and about 80 percent are male! They come not solely out of humanitarian instincts, but also for the sense of financial responsibility implicit in being an assurance donor for one's future needs, or a replacement donor for a friend or relative who has already received blood. The one dominant trait in common other than sex is prior giving: only 19 percent were giving for the first time; 53 percent had already given three times or more.

With 100-million eligible donors in the United States, of whom not more than three million have given at all, it should be feasible to outlaw the paid donor and encourage enough voluntary giving to make up the difference. After all, we would need to find only two million more who would be motivated by something other than quick cash – or one million who would give twice a year. The tax deduction is attractive because, based on the current data that show strong correlations between levels of income, education and health, it will be most enticing to that segment of the population that would be likely to yield the safest blood. But the tax incentive is elitist, it discriminates against those who for medical reasons cannot give blood (although it has been suggested that hepatitis victims be offered a tax advantage for not giving), and in effect it puts the government in the position of purchasing blood.

What are the alternatives? Many volunteer blood banks, hospital drawing centers, and other nonprofit facilities have been less than assiduous in their efforts to attract volunteers. Aside from an occasional community drive based on a mobile unit, most local banks are singularly unenterprising. Some keep the proverbial bankers' hours and are unavailable to the volunteer who would donate on the way to work, or on weekends. Also, the donor is asked to sign a disclaimer absolving the bank from responsibility for mishap to the donor. Since the likelihood of such mishap is minuscule and the legal validity of the disclaimer is dubious, the major impact may be to make the process seem more hazardous than it is, discouraging donors from returning. It might be productive to drop the disclaimer, and to try other innovations such as sending mobile units to suburban shopping centers and apartment complexes, offering baby-sitting services to attract more female donors, and staying open at least one night a week or one weekend per month. Since hepatitis is the sole statistically significant risk in receiving blood, and is frequently fatal to persons over 40 years old, such efforts would seem to be justified.

The practices of the banks are not coordinated, nor is the allocation of their product. This is largely responsible for the fact that of the six-million units drawn, almost one million are wasted through outdating (whole blood must be transfused within 21 days). Only in the instance of extremely rare blood types is it worth the great costs of freezing the red cells. Fortunately, the plasma from outdated blood can be fractionated into useful components, but the whole blood as such is lost. A nationwide or statewide network for allocation would avoid the temptation to hoard and could introduce some overall planning into what has been the incredibly haphazard use of such a scarce natural resource. Few banks are at present subject to federal regulation because of the relatively limited involvement of such enterprises in interstate commerce. State standards vary, and some impose virtually no requirements on either commercial or volunteer banks.

In addition to the tax deduction there are various efforts that might be made by the public and private sectors, on a national or local basis, and these need not be mutually exclusive. State action might exclude blood transfusions from the provisions of medical insurance coverage, thus restoring the recipient's incentive to find noncommercial replacement donors. It might also discourage the operation of commercial banks by providing for broader liability for hepatitis attributable to bought blood. Federal policies might go farther in regulating those banks that are engaged in interstate commerce. Senator Vance Hartke, (D, Ind.) has introduced in Congress a bill that would require all blood banks to be licensed and inspected, and all blood to be labeled as to its source. Rep. Ed Koch (D, NY) authored a bill allowing for tax deductions for blood donations as "charitable contributions." We might also put additional emphasis on perfecting the one known test for serum hepatitis – which for various reasons now detects not even one out of three contaminated units. The National Blood Resources Program is supervising the gathering of meticulous data for a report, due within a year, on the entire range of problems in this field, and it might be desirable to postpone major federal policy decisions until that group, funded by NIH, can be heard from. If a tax deduction is unpalatable, a credit toward medical care might be preferred. If compulsion is necessary, a lottery might be appropriate. Whatever governmental action is taken, it will still be desirable to have a nationwide drive for volunteers that would stress the ease and importance of giving – and that in itself might be sufficient.

Ruth K. Franklin

MRS. FRANKLIN, *formerly on the staff of* The New Republic, *writes on law and public affairs.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nixon Watch

After Three Years

Here is one observer's appraisal of Richard Nixon at the start of his fourth year in the presidency. The reader is warned that it is going to be an unsatisfactory appraisal, soggy with ambivalence and short of certainties. There was so much to like and so much to dislike in what Mr. Nixon did during this third year in the office, and there continued to be so little to like in him as a person, that in this season of judgment I find myself incapable of the firm and rounded judgments that other, more fortunate, journalists seem to render with ease.

Let us begin with the man. At the end of his first year, Mr. Nixon seemed to me to have shown himself to be a better man than he had previously permitted himself to be and a better President than he appeared likely to be in his 1968 campaign. His second year inspired the conclusion that his wild swings from sober and often admirable proposals to raucous appeals to the basest instincts of the electorate made confidence in his fundamental integrity and good faith impossible. At the close of the third year and the beginning of the fourth, Mr. Nixon comes across to me as a President who, in defensive response to the negative view, has constructed a false image of himself and has persuaded himself that it is the true image. Bits of evidence in support of this impression are scattered through a series of magazine and television interviews and performances that were arranged for the President in late 1971 and early 1972.

These exposures reflected a return to the theory, thought by some of his associates to have been proven incorrect in early 1971, that he would appear to the public to be a warm and likeable fellow if he parted the curtain of privacy that he kept around himself and let others see him as his assistants see him. It was tried and it didn't work very well; the verdict of the professional imagists who serve him was that Mr. Nixon did himself more harm than good when he tried to loosen up and be his allegedly natural self in group and individual interviews. In late 1971, with the year for reelection approaching, he and his polishers decided to try it again, in a big way. NBC televised parts of a Nixon working day. CBS broadcast a pre-Christmas romp with the President's dogs, wife, daughters and sons-in-law. *Time's* editors, its White House correspondent and Dan Rather of CBS interviewed him. On the whole, Mr. Nixon came off quite well. But there were little touches, petty flaws and contradictions, that in their way were as revealing as the passages – and there were many – in which the President appeared to be credible and likeable.

On the NBC show, the President telephoned Congressman Wilbur Mills and said that he was calling because "I thought there was a lousy story (about Mills) in the papers this morning." Mr. Nixon told Jerrold Schecter of *Time* that "I don't worry about the press . . . I never start the morning by reading through *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*." (Technically true; he said in the same interview that he gets his news from a summary prepared by his staff.) Nixon to Schecter on how he treats his assistants: "If anybody does anything for me that I've asked him to do, I support him totally. Nobody is ever dressed down for making a mistake." Nixon to Mills on how they should work together to reconcile their different revenue-sharing bills: "If you find any of our people that are giving you trouble on this, if they are getting out of line, you let me know." The President told Schecter that "The first rule of leadership is to save yourself for the big decisions. Don't let your mind become cluttered with trivia." NBC's viewers saw and heard Nixon rebuking an assistant for proposing that the President give signed photographs to heads of state and government with whom he was about to confer and dramatically scratching out a reference to photographs in a script prepared for the meetings. Nixon spoke at length of a President's need to be cool and disciplined, ever prepared for the "great decisions," and remarked that "I have my moments when I'm not as disciplined as I might be, but I try to overcome them." His preoccupation with the point suggested that he depicts himself to himself as a cooler and more disciplined President than he really is.

Nixon's assertions that he wouldn't "engage in any political activities" until after the 1972 Republican convention were something more than the usual guff of a President who is running for reelection. They were the effusions of a President who has convinced himself that he isn't engaging in politics when he departs from habit and grabs at chances for extra magazine and television exposure and sees to it that the TV networks have the opportunity for maximum coverage of his summit visits to Peking and Moscow. He said he realized that "anyone who sits in this office is going to be charged with having a political motivation for everything that he does." Pleading innocence, he had the air of a man who believes himself innocent. Insisting in early January that he hadn't finally decided to run for reelection, the President was assumed to be building interest in his promised announcement of that "very important decision." It could be that Nixon has come to think of himself as a President who actually is, as he said he was, capable of choosing not to run again. He would figure, if I read him rightly, that he could enter the Republican primaries and still choose not to stand for renomination at the convention. An announcement that committed him only to enter the primaries and left the ultimate option intact without disclosing it would be in character.

The President was at his best and most appealing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when Dan Rather, in the course of a memorable display of inquisitorial courtesy and toughness, put it to him that pollers find a lot of people thinking he "failed to inspire confidence and faith and lacked personal warmth and compassion." Rather asked, "Why do you suppose that is?" and Nixon answered: "Well, it is because people tell the pollster that. . . . So that must be what the people believe. . . . I would simply answer the question by saying that my strong point is not rhetoric, it isn't showmanship, it isn't big promises – those things that create the glamor and excitement that people call charisma and warmth. My strong point, if I have a strong point, is performance. I always do more than I say. Oh, I don't mean that from time to time I may not have made promises that I was unable to keep, but, generally speaking . . . I believe that actions are what count."

Here, it seems to me, we have a President who has trained himself not to give a damn about "what the people believe" about him as a person. Giving a damn about it would be too painful, too much of a drain upon inner resources. For such a man, there is a cathartic relief in feeling free to say as he said to *Time's* editors, at a risk surely understood, that "black people are different from white people" and (to Rather) that women will have to "develop respect for themselves as executives rather than as women" before they can expect to rise in business and politics and, some day, see a woman in the presidency. Mr. Nixon's seizure of every opportunity to emphasize the work requirement in his welfare reform bill and to portray, with cynical falsity, the run of people on welfare as fakes and free-loaders is generally taken to be a means of appealing to voters who feel the same way. It is that. But it also is a reflection of Nixon himself, of the mean and cruel streak in him that flashes into view (as it occasionally did during NBC's working day with him) when the Nixon mouth turns down and the Nixon voice roughens.

Showmanship and big promises indeed are not the President's strong points. His attempts at showmanship and his indulgence in big promises are among his weak points. His 1971 State of the Union Message, the one that proclaimed his "new American Revolution," was a monster of a promise, and it was followed by a lackadaisical effort to fulfill it. And yet – here comes the acknowledged ambivalence – the message and the legislative proposals that rather feebly implemented it set in motion and stimulated trends that eventually will change and improve our national life. A necessary sharing of federal revenues with needy state and local governments is going to come about – not as soon as the President promised and not in the forms he suggested, but sooner and to better effect than the critics who have pronounced his program dead suppose. National health insurance is on the way, in part because the President embraced the principle in a stingy fashion. An Environmental Protection Agency is in being and at work, inhibited to some extent by the politics of privilege but nevertheless expressive of a federal commitment to the proposition that only federal power can compel us to save ourselves. A federally guaranteed income for people who cannot earn it for themselves is in the offing, largely at the instance of a President who professes to detest the concept of a guaranteed income. A capitalist economy that was headed into disastrous inflation at the beginning of 1971 is under the restraints of federal wage and price controls imposed by a President who was saying at mid-year that he would never impose them in peacetime. A conservative President is accused by conservative supporters of cloaking liberal measures in conservative rhetoric and the accusation, allowing for some exaggeration of the liberal content, is so well founded that Mr. Nixon hardly bothers to deny its truth.

The fourth year began with the President saying that the peace issue will be his winning issue in 1972. His dismal dealings with the conflict between India and Pakistan suggested a failure of calculation and judgment that, if repeated, could mar the prospect. But, except there and in Indochina, where the President continued to trap himself with his refusal to accept the fact of defeat in any form that might be perceived as defeat, the foreign policy performance in 1971 justified the prediction. Mr. Nixon was believable when he said that he sees in himself a President who is in office at a point in time when it may be possible to do more than any President before him could do to promote a realistic and stable realignment of the world power structure. He was credible, almost he persuaded, when he said that his highest purpose "in the brief time I have" is to grasp the discerned opportunity and so make a difference for his country and for the world that may long outlast him.

John Osborne

What Are the Polls Telling Us?

Poll watchers want most of all to know who the front-runner is today, what chances a front-runner in January has of being chosen in July and, if chosen, what his chances are of being elected, running against Nixon and Wallace.

Most poll watchers follow the Gallup and Harris national surveys. Some pay attention also to certain state polls and it may be well that they do, for during the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1968 campaign we ran into noticeable differences between the Gallup and Harris findings and even greater differences between the national and state polls. During September-October of 1968, for instance, certain barometric state polls indicated to me that the race was not as one-sided as it appeared in the national polls, that the two candidates were equally poised in their chances for victory, and so the election proved. I mention this experience because there are already signs of a similar discrepancy between national and state polls.

The first of the three questions, who is the January front-runner, the polls answer fairly clearly. In alphabetical order they are Humphrey, Kennedy and Muskie. When a hundred likely voting Democrats are asked who, among a dozen or so hopefuls, is their first choice, about 60 percent according to one poll and 70 percent according to the other choose from among these three names. None of the others is preferred by more than one- to seven-or-eight percent. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that a relatively unknown candidate might stage a blitz operation this spring and get the nomination, as Willkie did in 1940.

Of the three who are at the top of the Democratic list at present, who is the actual front-runner? The latest Harris poll found 26 percent of Democrats favored Kennedy, 19 percent Muskie and 16 percent Humphrey. The somewhat more recent Gallup poll gives Kennedy 29 percent, Muskie 24 and Humphrey 19. Kennedy emerges as the front-runner when Democrats scatter their first choices among a dozen or so names.

But when Gallup pollsters then asked Democrats to choose between two names, Kennedy and Muskie, and Humphrey and Muskie, Muskie is the choice of 50 percent, Kennedy of 39 percent, with 11 percent undecided. In a Muskie-Humphrey choice, Muskie also rates 50 percent, Humphrey 39, with 22 percent undecided. What these figures indicate is that about twice as many of the preferences scattered among the less popular names shifted to Muskie rather than to either Kennedy or Humphrey, when their choice was narrowed to two. Whether or not Kennedy holds to his statement to the very end that he is not a candidate in 1972, the polls clearly put Muskie ahead. Humphrey is in second place if you exclude Kennedy.

Can Muskie retain his lead and win the nomination in July? This calls for forecasting many imponderables, including the effect of the primary results and of the new rules of the Democratic convention. Insofar as history may still be a guide, the Gallup polls over the past three-and-a-half decades provide a clue. If you examine the names of candidates as of the beginning of each election year back to 1936 you will discover that the candidate who topped his party's list of preferences in January emerged as the convention choice. There have been only two exceptions. In January 1964, Goldwater rated second in the Republican list but received the nomination. In January 1940, Willkie was not among the top Republican runners; Dewey was the front-runner. But a fast campaign resulted in Willkie's nomination. On the basis of this record we may conclude that the front-runner in January has a four- or five-to-one chance of winning the nomination, and therefore that Muskie has a 75-to-80 percent chance of being chosen.

The national polls do not, however, tell us who would be the winner in a Nixon-Muskie contest. They do say that if the election were held now, Nixon would win, although something would depend on how the substantial number of undecided would divide. Here are the Nixon-Muskie-Wallace standings in the two latest Harris and Gallup polls. In both, Muskie has advanced from his low rating in October, but Nixon leads by 12 points in the Harris October poll and by four in the November poll, while according to Gallup a Nixon eight-point lead in October became a three-point lead in November. Thus, on a two-party basis:

	Harris		Gallup	
	Oct.	Nov.	Oct.	Nov.
Nixon	47	43	43	44
Muskie	35	39	35	41
Wallace	11	11	13	10
Undecided	7	7	9	5
	100	100	100	100

But other evidence suggests a contrary conclusion. Polls in three important barometer states point to a late-1971 margin in favor of Muskie. Statewide polls in Michigan, Illinois and California indicate that in a two-party race Muskie rated 53 percent, Nixon 47 percent – the opposite of what the national polls showed. These three states combined have been almost perfect barometers of the national vote. Back to 1928 at least, they have matched the national vote with a margin of difference of less than one percentage point. We can plausibly say that as these three states go, so goes the nation.

If state polls prove to be more accurate than the national polls as early indicators of this year's election results, it would not be for the first time. For example, in 1944 several barometric state polls conducted by Gallup provided me with an excellent basis for anticipating the results in November. Again, in January 1948, several Gallup barometric state polls correctly anticipated the famous Truman election when all later polls including Gallup's failed to do so.

These experiences do not warrant the conclusion that similar differences between state and national polling results will necessarily show up this year. They are, however, a warning: in 1972 one should not watch the national polls exclusively.

Louis H. Bean

MR. BEAN, *an economic and political analyst is the author of the forthcoming book,* You Can Predict the 1972 Election.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Report from the Southwest

Land Empires

By every measurement, there is a land boom on in the southwestern United States. Every acre not owned or controlled by the federal government – 55 percent of the total landmass is being bid on, bought, traded and leased, either to be stripped away by mining companies, or subdivided into "dream lots" for every imaginable kind of retirement, recreation, or "master planned" community. Land, and what's under it – the water table and mineral deposits – is the basis for all wealth in the region, and the rapacity accompanying this "land development" has been equaled only by the Texas oil boom and the California gold rush.

The frantic race in the past five years to buy up acreage and mineral rights is occurring primarily in Arizona, where only 16 percent of the land is privately owned, and in New Mexico, where vast tracts of land are tied up in National Forests, Indian reservations, and the White Sands Missile Range, and are thus usually out of the reach of land speculators. A certain measure of national attention has been focused on the area's methodical exploitation and ruination, such as the strip-mining of the Hopi and Navaho reservations for cheap coal to fuel the planet-polluting Four Corners electric power complex. Yet some of the original western corporations beat the current land boom and much of the attendant public outcry, smoothly continuing their decades-old extraction of minerals and control of vast acreage, operating with the quiet respectability that comes to old wealth. While many Indian groups, and the Chicano *Alianza Federal* are bogged down in wearisome and doubtful legal struggles to regain title to lands taken in fraudulent landgrants and through broken treaties, the old western corporations remain solidly entrenched, benefiting daily from their rich southwestern acreage. It is this conflict over land, which ranges from Southern California to the Mississippi, that is at the heart of the tremendous gap in wealth and power that separates Anglos from the area's Chicanos and native Red people.

No corporation embodies more of the history and the contradictions of the Southwest than the little-known New Mexico and Arizona Land Company, operating out of field offices in Albuquerque. The company's landownership and extensive subsurface mineral rights total more than 1,353,500 acres. Its seven major tracts of land cover more than 2100 square miles, an area nearly twice the size of the state of Rhode Island, and 60 percent larger than the fabled King Ranch of Texas. The Company is reticent to discuss its holdings, because, as Director of Land Management Don Tea put it, "there are some groups pushing for return of these lands to the government."

The company's control over this sprawling landmass goes back to the post-Civil War Congress, whose legislators understood that the establishment of a continental empire, and penetration of Asian markets, required the rapid construction of a transcontinental railroad. Congress chartered the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad to build a line from Missouri to the port of San Francisco. Having taken the Southwest from Mexico in the War of 1848, and continuing the extermination of the Indians, Congress began granting the railroad free land upon which to build the line. First the railroad was given a strip of land 100 feet wide for the roadbed, and land where needed to locate stations. And as a sweetener, Congress threw in land in sections for 40 miles on both sides of the track as completed rail was spiked down. Thus more than 100 years ago, the government established a policy of granting enormous land assets to private corporations.

Despite the gift parcels of land, the Atlantic & Pacific managed to go bankrupt, a full century before the debacle of the Penn Central. The company which reorganized the defunct A&P, the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway, fell heir to the A&P's landgrants. Congress did not require the return of the land, even though the A&P couldn't finish the line.

The St. Louis-San Francisco Railway (The Frisco) understood the importance of keeping its land bonanza intact and separate from the company treasury in case the new company, too, should fail, so it organized a subsidiary in 1890 to manage the land. It was called the New Mexico and Arizona Land Company. Today, the Frisco owns just over 50 percent of the land company stock, and holds three of the five board seats. The other directorships belong to F.G. McClintock, board chairman of the First National Bank and Trust Company of Tulsa, Oklahoma's largest bank, and Leonard Spangenberg, chairman of the board of a Massachusetts investment service.

The western rail system underwent a continual series of mergers, takeovers, and realignments, which resulted in the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe line becoming the major Southwest carrier. The Frisco ended all rail service in New Mexico, Arizona and California. Today, the Frisco is an all-freight line and a misnomer. It comes no closer to the San Francisco of its name, and its Southwest landholdings, than one terminal stop in Floydada, Texas, hundreds of miles away. Based in St. Louis, running freight through

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Missouri, Arkansas and the Gulf states, the Frisco remains one of the largest absentee landowners in New Mexico and Arizona.

The Frisco manages its landholdings, which it obtained for nothing, in a model colonial manner. Through the Albuquerque-based land company, it profits from the extraction of impressive mineral deposits and the mass leasing of surface grazing rights. For years, the land company granted one corporation, the Arkansas-Louisiana Gas Company (Arkla) – *exclusive* exploration rights on all the railroad property. Arkla's most significant find was a marketable deposit of potash in Arizona, and smaller quantities of copper, molybdenum and uranium.

With the expiration of Arkla's exclusive rights in 1970, the land company began to lease exploration rights to other large corporations. Western Nuclear, now a subsidiary of the copper giant, Phelps Dodge, has discovered an ore body on railroad company land in McKinley Co., New Mexico, containing an estimated net half-million pounds of uranium oxide.

The land company has also informed its stockholders of an industry interest in soft-coal reserves totaling 160-million tons on its lands in western New Mexico. To Southwesterners, who are witnessing the destruction of the Black Mesa by the Peabody Coal Co. and the massive air pollution belched from the coal burning at Four Corners, the land company 1970 Annual Report had a chillingly familar passage: "Due to changes in the coal industry relating to mine extraction and slurry transportation through pipe lines and the shortage in organic fuels, there is a renewed interest in these reserves. Representatives of the coal industry are in the area examining the reserves on our properties and considering their possible utilization."

Those banal few sentences could spell further ruination of the Southwest. "Changes in the coal industry relating to mine extraction" means new cavernous strip-mining shovels and draglines; "slurry through pipe lines" means the draining of the priceless water table to rush a coal-water mixture to power plants, which now buy most of the nation's coal. The slurry pipeline from Black Mesa to Four Corners requires 2500 gallons of water *per minute* in the desert-like reaches of New Mexico and Arizona.

In addition to these mineral activities, the land company is broadly diversifying on its once-public, once-Chicano and Indian-held lands. The Arkansas-Louisiana Gas Company is carrying out searches for oil, gas, copper, uranium and molybdenum; Western Nuclear is looking for more uranium, and a Nevada petroleum company has been carrying out an exploration for oil, gas and other hydrocarbon substances. And the land company receives additional income from more than 50 individuals and corporate ranches, who lease a total of nearly 600,000 acres of surface rights for cattle grazing. The grazing land is leased for a per-acre fee, with the leasing party paying all applicable land taxes and assessments. The operation of these mineral and ranching lands is a virtual sweepstakes for the corporations, with the consistent winner being the railroad, which receives royalties and rents.

Yet the land may have an ultimate value unforeseen by a generous Congress, a value tied to the bleak future of American railroading and the seemingly unlimited value of productive land in the Southwest. As the Frisco's 1970 Annual Report dismally put it, "For the Frisco 1970 was a year of shrinking profit margins. For the railroad industry as a whole, it was the worst year since the depression of the '30s." Manhattan real estate sales are currently holding off the bankrupt Penn Central's creditors; should the Frisco ever flounder, it holds a land empire right in the midst of the fastest growing part of the nation, which could prevent a total company collapse.

The railroad's longtime ownership of western lands through congressional grants exemplifies the region's problems. Land in the Southwest is beyond the control of the inhabitants, with profit revenue flowing to St. Louis, Arkansas, and the New York City offices of Phelps Dodge. While it is common for Chicanos to try and scratch a living from a 10-acre *ranchito*, and for Indian pueblos in New Mexico to lease their sacred lands to land developers in a desperate attempt to raise money for the Pueblo residents, the only way anyone can obtain even a fractional, symbolic portion of the railroad land company's profits is to buy its stock at a broker's.

Occasionally, an incident occurs that shows how illogical the land situation is in the Southwest, and just how prejudiced official attitudes are toward Anglo, versus Chicano or Indian land usage. For instance, Reies Tijernia, founder of the *Alianza Federal*, was paroled this summer after serving three years in the federal penitentiary for allegedly aiding his wife in the burning of two US Forest Service signs valued at $25 apiece. Also this past June, Everett Lee, an Anglo contractor, was arrested for leaving an illegal campfire burning in the Santa Fe National Forest that caused a $17-million, 5000-acre forest fire. He was fined $75 in federal court.

And last year, the federal government was finishing the construction of Interstate Highway 40 through central Arizona, along a route where, a century ago, it subsidized the building of a cross-country railroad. The government needed some land to build four interchanges outside of Winslow, but this time, there weren't any Indians to steal it from. All the land was privately owned, so the federal government had to buy it – 190.5 acres for $92,000. The owner was the New Mexico and Arizona Land Company.

James Rowen

MR. ROWEN *is on the board of editors of the* New Mexico Review *in Santa Fe.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He Looks Good, Like a Candidate Should

The Lindsay Appeal

by Paul R. Wieck

A loud burst of cheers and clapping from a cluster of waitresses on the far side of the room caught everyone's attention as the last of a large crowd of labor leaders filtered out of a banquet room in Canton, Ohio. "What happened," I asked. "Oh," came the reply, "one of the waitresses just went up to Lindsay and kissed him. Her girl friends were just cheering her on." That scene isn't unusual when Mayor John Vliet Lindsay enters a room or lingers after a dinner to sign programs for droves of female admirers. Women talk about his "pretty face," giggle and sometimes spill their drink when finally presented to him. He takes it all in his stride, his tall, lean physique topped by modishly long but greying locks that frame an ever-ready smile. He even jokes about it a bit. Few serious observers dwell on the role of sex in politics; yet in January of 1972, Lindsay's physical assets may well make him the best bet to derail the bandwagon that has been set in motion by Sen. Muskie's campaign managers.

A recent two-week trip by car to the Midwest on personal business convinced this writer of two things which, taken together, argue against any hasty, Washington-based judgments about the outcome in 1972. First, there's President Nixon. He's respected, yes, but in the way you respect a technician – a cold, impersonal, sometimes grudging response to a kind of expertise. In a politician, particularly in a chief executive, that appeal is seldom enough.

At the same time, none of the Democratic candidates has caught fire. "Maybe Muskie," they'll say. McGovern, despite his knowledge of a range of issues, is identified with just one – Vietnam – largely because that's all they hear him talking about on the evening news. Jackson, they don't know. Humphrey, they know too well. One returns to Washington with a feeling that middle America hasn't found anyone with whom it can identify, that a man who can bring a sense of excitement might find multitudes waiting to embrace him. That's the way Lindsay's managers read it, too. It's the reason they think they have a chance to break the Democratic race wide open. Florida and Wisconsin are their first two targets.

Basic Lindsay strategy derives from 1969, when he won a second term with 42 percent of New York City's vote in a three-cornered race. Lindsay was stunned by his primary loss to State Sen. John Marchi; it was his first defeat in a career that spanned more than a decade. His headquarters were nearly deserted. He trailed badly in polls, by nearly 20 percent in some. During the hot summer weeks that followed, Lindsay and his chief adviser, Richard Aurelio, plotted his comeback.

There were two parts to the strategy, fueled by a competitiveness that drives Lindsay to 18- to 20-hour days on the campaign trail. Phase I started right after Labor Day with a "visibility" campaign. The mayor went wherever he'd find people and the press. In a matter of days, he was on the 6 and 11 p.m. broadcasts regularly. One strategist put it this way: "He was making news every day. So were the other candidates and that was their trouble. They appeared side-by-side with him on the tube and Lindsay began moving up in the polls."

The second phase dealt with issues. He had to cope with the disillusionment that haunts a charismatic personality who fails to solve the immense problems thrust on him. One issue helped him in 1969 – the war in Vietnam. Unlike his two opponents, Lindsay had been an early critic so he drew heavily on the moral opposition to the war then rampant on "the left" in New York and tied it to the plight of cities by charging a waste of resources needed at home. He added a frank admission he'd made mistakes. Hundreds of radio and TV spots pounded home the slogan "It's the Second Toughest Job in America."

Florida in March of 1972 will be a different scene. Ed Muskie isn't Mario Procaccino; standing next to Lindsay, Muskie will still look attractive. Nor will George McGovern give Lindsay's basic constituency the same qualms Marchi did. Nor will Lindsay be running as the only antiwar candidate.

The mayor has lately been trying out a theme borrowed from George Wallace and cleaned up a bit. He's decided to run against Washington, not against the "pointy heads" with briefcases who inhabit Wallace's rhetoric, but against the men who "grow remote" from the cares of the people while in residence on the banks of the Potomac. That covers all his potential opponents except a fellow mayor, Sam Yorty of Los Angeles, who'll be competing for votes on the other end of the spectrum.

To dramatize this theme and simultaneously take the edge off talk he's been a flop in the "second toughest job," Lindsay's troopers will picture him as a man who's been down there with the people. Voters in Florida and Wisconsin will be reminded he "kept New York cool" for six years, walking the streets, often without

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

camera crews trailing him. If organized labor's demands irritate some voters, they'll be told Lindsay has sat at the bargaining table, face to face, negotiating contracts covering hundreds of thousands of city employees. Mistakes will be conceded but excused on the grounds that he's tried things, such as an "open enrollment" policy at city-operated colleges that increased the freshman class at City College of New York from 18,000 to 41,000, requiring 1800 additional teachers. Critics call it "one of the best things" he's done and aides remember to whisper that most of the new freshmen come from low-income white families.

It's an outsider's strategy but it suits Lindsay in 1972. Not only is he a recent convert to the Democratic Party, but he's running from city hall, which traditionally doesn't produce presidential candidates. It seems an even more unlikely launching pad this year, given the concentration of problems in the inner cities and the flight to the suburbs over the past two decades.

Lindsay doesn't pretend to have a great deal of support within his adopted party's power structure, nor is his tightly knit New York based staff widely known among party pros around the country. Dick Aurelio, his chief political operator, started out as a Republican and is just beginning to grope his way through the labyrinth of Democratic politics. Media man Dave Garth is better known; he goes back to 1960 and the Stevenson draft and has handled the campaigns of a number of winners (among them John Tunney). Lindsay's city-hall staff is immersed in its day-to-day work but he has a couple of key Kennedy people – Ronnie Eldridge, a West Side reformer who was Robert Kennedy's choice for county leader a few years back; and Jerry Bruno, the Kennedy advance man who told all in a recent book and is expected to handle Wisconsin (it's his native state) for Lindsay. Bruno's a master at drumming up crowd excitement. Finally there's the mayor's secret weapon, his wife Mary, who has the political sense of an Eleanor Roosevelt, the devotion of a Bess Truman and the candor of a Martha Mitchell.

Aurelio's initial feelers haven't been too productive. There were talks with some key Tunney staffers in California, but their boss signed up with Muskie. Lindsay made some friends in Indiana when he campaigned for a group of mayoral candidates last fall, and state chairman Gordon St. Angelo brought five of them to the big city for a friendly visit; however, St. Angelo has "Hartke trouble." For a brief period, Miami's Mayor David Kennedy, left without a candidate when Senator Bayh pulled out, sounded like a potential ally. He told the Florida press Lindsay is "terrific" and was promptly invited to New York. But then he confessed that Humphrey was his first choice and he wanted to check in there. He did and was lost. In Massachusetts, Aurelio's luck was better. He signed up John Martinelli, the highly respected campaign manager for Mayor Kevin White of Boston. In Wisconsin, an image-laden group of young state legislators led by state assemblyman Dennis Conta teamed with a sizable group of Hughes backers to put together an impressive committee. Eugene McCarthy was high on Lindsay four years ago. Whether he still is remains to be discovered. At any rate, none of this adds up to much nationally.

Nor does it begin to compare with Muskie's gains, particularly at the second-echelon level. In 1968, hordes of bright, hard-working young men and women learned politics working for McCarthy or Kennedy in hundreds of county seats in dozens of states. In 1970, many of the best gravitated to Connecticut where they worked under Anne Wexler in the Joe Duffey campaign. Today, Mrs. Wexler is leading most of them into the Muskie camp, where she will coordinate grassroots operations across the country. Lindsay's managers have been signing on as many second-echelon people as they can find because, despite their lack of concern for traditional allies within the party, they do need experienced people in Florida and Wisconsin. It's all right to fill the empty desks in a campaign headquarters with eager students, people from the minority communities and friends out of labor. But, only weeks before the Florida primary, they can't afford to run a massive on-the-job-training course for local workers.

Lindsay hasn't been politically idle in the last few years. Unable to cope with the entrenched powers in Albany, he put together a coalition of "Big Six" mayors in New York. It was greeted with a round of chuckles. Historically, the other five mayors had been part of an upstate coalition that fought New York City in Albany. The current problems confronting the six are so similar, however, that the relationship not only blossomed but spawned a new coalition of 11 county executives who see the troubles of the inner city rapidly spreading to the suburbs. The 11 have asked to meet with the "Big Six" and, if that combine prospers, the balance of power in New York could be permanently altered. Meanwhile, Lindsay has been active in the US Conference of Mayors, helping organize a task force of 17 big-city mayors who visit each other en masse to focus attention on inner-city needs. Lindsay is not only the star of that show, but he draws unstinting praise from new friends such as Mayor White of Boston and Joe Alioto of San Francisco. A bipartisan group, the mayors haven't hesitated to zero in on "the enemy" in Washington, be it the Republican in the White House or the Democrats who hold key chairmanships in Congress. They take credit for reviving revenue sharing when it was at death's door last spring.

The spotlight Lindsay has thrown on the inner city may also illumine one of the flaws in his strategy. At city hall in New York – at the heart of a teeming concentration of some 20-million people sprawled across four states – the view is incredibly urban. His aides remind you that this country is 70 percent urban, and they move quickly to their favorite theory: the prob-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lems of the inner city – from crime and drugs to welfare and pollution – have infested the suburbs, raising the consciousness of the suburban share (over half the 70 percent) of the population, giving them a sense of identity with the inner city. But judging from the widespread reluctance of suburbanites to venture into the inner city, it is hard to make a convincing case that they identify with their less fortunate urban neighbors. Once you get a few miles from the Hudson, the Lindsay view seems strange, until you reach California. Yet statistics support his point. The FBI says crime rose 48.1 percent in New York City from 1966 to 1969. But it rose 100.2 percent in Englewood, NJ; 103.0 percent in Freeport, NY; 102.6 percent in Middletown, Conn.; 106.5 percent in Long Branch, NJ. Just as telling are the welfare tables. The number of recipients was up 13.22 percent in New York City from 1970 to '71 but soared 41.15 percent in Nassau County and 32.37 percent in Westchester County.

It's a surprise to listen to Lindsay talk about his town. He dismisses the "glamorous, show-biz" aspects of Manhattan with a wave of the hand as he stares out the window of his office and speaks of a city that is blue-collar and middle-class, a big manufacturing center with no one industrial giant dominating it or even rising noticeably above the skyline. He talks of the "white-collar crowd" that occupies the towering office buildings still going up all over, a town that absorbed the shock when the Brooklyn Navy Yard was closed and has 22 new industrial parks plus what he terms a "white-collar explosion" under way, a town in which two huge minority groups – black and brown – constitute 28 percent of the population.

It's the blue-collar worker who appears to dominate Lindsay's thinking as he prepares to do battle for the presidential nomination—the little man drowning under waves of crime and drug abuse and rising taxation. In Canton, Ohio, where he spoke to the annual recognition dinner of the Great Canton AFL-CIO Council (it's dominated by Steelworkers and Rubber workers), he laid out his credentials: the 500 contracts negotiated, the 70,000 who made less than the $2.85 an hour minimum wage he set for city employees when he took office but who now make more. Traveling to Canton with him was John DeLury, head of the Sanitation Workers, a man Lindsay once sent to jail. "He's tough but fair," DeLury told his labor brethren in Ohio, adding a note to the press by saying "if a man don't rate my presence, I wouldn't be here."

Canton wasn't Lindsay's first bid for labor support. Last September, for his first speech outside New York after switching his registration, he went to Pittsburgh before 20,000 college students at a voter registration rally. He dwelt at length on the kind of life their blue-collar contemporaries would lead, about the monotony of doing the same job over and over, day after day for 30 or 40 years. The words struck no sparks in that crowd. But were they delivered for the 20,000 at Pittsburgh? Perhaps not. Lindsay men are careful to tell you that when their man visited San Francisco later in the fall, labor leaders had read the speech and were impressed.

Does this sound like the candidate of the alienated youth, of minorities, of peace activists in the suburbs? No. It sounds more like a man trying to broaden his constituency by appealing to a different kind of alienation, a kind that took hundreds of thousands of votes from the Democratic column in industrial areas of the North in 1968.

Lindsay isn't exactly the type you'd cast in this new role. His background exudes the "super-WASP" – the right prep schools, Yale, the right parties on Long Island, the political beginnings in Manhattan's "Silk Stocking" district, one of the few places in New York City where WASPs can still be found in abundance. His brisk self-confidence fits that background, but six-and-one-half years in what his staff is fond of calling "the cauldron" of city hall politics has taken some of the starch out. "He's gone so far from the super-WASP it's ridiculous," an aide says. "He's moved away from the social part of it. His staff is now Italian and Jewish."

I recall my first encounter with Lindsay in the fall of 1965 when he was the Republican-Liberal candidate for mayor. It was a Saturday night in October and he had a heavy schedule that took him back and forth from Brooklyn to Manhattan all evening. The chief duty of his press man seemed to be to keep reporters at bay. One vignette from that evening comes back – Lindsay, sober and uptight, standing alone in the center of a large foyer in the St. George's Hotel in Brooklyn waiting to go on, while a small group of reporters huddled at a distance under the watchful eye of the press secretary who had warned them the candidate didn't care to bother with journalists at such moments. Six-and-one-half years later in Canton, he was a different man. After his speech (he is, at best, an adequate platform speaker), he met with local labor leaders in an upstairs room and then came down to drink and chat with the press for an hour or so. He was the picture of a psychologically whole man.

His career as mayor has been marked by shifting alliances. First, there was the Republican-Liberal alliance in 1965, augmented in the final days by crucial endorsements from Reform Club leaders. Four years later, GOP voters dumped him in the primary for Marchi, a hero of the Conservative Party, but Reform Democrats flocked to his support and Lindsay rolled up an impressive margin in their Manhattan strongholds. Two-and-one-half years later, he is estranged from many of these same Reformers. Why? Isn't it fair to say Lindsay's independence, his courtship of minority voters, his early opposition to the Vietnam war, make him an ideal candidate for a reform ele-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment? Yes, it's fair, but Manhattan's reform clubhouses aren't a natural mating ground for WASPish politicians. Like Eastern establishment politicians of the past, Lindsay is *with* the people more than *of* them, and not hesitant to form new alliances with power brokers. He can always point to FDR and Roosevelt's working relationship with Jim Farley or boss Ed Flynn of the Bronx, who delivered the masses for candidates committed to New Deal programs.

But he's *not* FDR, say the reformers. Moreover, they look about their city and see abundant evidence Lindsay doesn't share their procedural purity. Example: Over the last year, at least 28 city employees, some of them holding top-rung jobs, have been charged with practicing law on the side. Lindsay put out an "executive order" supposedly stopping it, but the bar association is probing the whole matter. Example: John V. Lindsay Associations, organized in each borough to provide a political base for the mayor, have supplemented their cash flow in a couple of boroughs by selling ads in "journals" to businessmen who have dealings with the city. In Reform circles, this is a detested practice they identify with their patronage-minded regular party foes.

Outside New York, Lindsay hasn't been too circumspect. He visited Mayor Alioto in San Francisco just before last fall's municipal election in that city, an election in which Alioto had reform Democratic opposition. In Indiana, some of the mayoral candidates he campaigned for had questionable credentials. Lindsay's people will explain that their boss is trying to build an urban bloc in this country to challenge the entrenched power structure in "remote" Washington, and that doesn't allow him the luxury of picking and choosing as he moves about.

How well has Lindsay performed as Mayor? If you ask 10 people, you first have to find out what's irking them. A couple might be mad because he put parking meters on their street; another two or three might be irate over cab fares, or perhaps live in an area that has just experienced a crime wave. The first two – cab fares and parking meters – aren't too relevant if you're considering Lindsay's potential as the next occupant of 1600 Pennsylvania. What is relevant is his ability as an administrator. He sits in a lonely outpost at the top of an incredibly complex pyramid. Does he understand how power is accumulated, how it's used, and how it might be spread around to provide the people more access to government?

I put the last question to Lindsay. "Decentralization is what we've been doing," he replied, explaining he started with the school system (there are now 31 elected boards) and followed through with health and hospital services and the police department. "We've given them new responsibilities in the neighborhoods and it seems to be working," he said. Of the three, he rates the school system the "greater success" and cites in evidence that "disagreements have been contained in the neighborhoods because that's where the power is." Lindsay wasn't quite sure how "decentralization" could be applied at a federal level, nor was he ready to say President Nixon's plan to reorganize the cabinet structure through further consolidation was wrong. Yet, he warned that "if you create another HEW monster, you have to start spinning off power right away." After kicking it around a few minutes, he added that "restructuring at a cabinet level won't make that much difference. I'm for dispersion of power as much as possible. You can deal with outside pressures better if you have involvement with the community." He cited some examples. In New York, there's been "faster site selection for new facilities, faster tenant selection in public housing, with decentralization." But he wasn't sure how much this would apply to Washington.

Shifting power and decision-making to a neighborhood level could be disastrous if a man unable to make decisions is at the top. This doesn't describe Lindsay. He decides, all right, though many of his decisions prove to be unpopular – for example his plan to scatter low-income, public housing through Forest Hills, an affluent Queens neighborhood. That plan has deeply upset middle-class neighborhoods, many of which are threatened by waves of armed robberies. But Lindsay hasn't budged. The pressures don't seem to bother him. I sat in his office over the noon hour attempting to interview him. In between questions, he took calls from his cabinet to tell them an official was resigning to become president of a college and say the news would probably break that afternoon and then switched on the TV to watch one of his key aides, Jay Kreigle, answer questions at a Knapp Commission hearing on police protection. Kreigle, it seems, was told of examples of corruption on a confidential basis several years before and had passed the word on to Lindsay; however, the informant would not allow the information to be relayed to the police commissioner for fear of reprisals. For the mayor, it was a touchy question of private vs. public duty. Lindsay and Kreigle chose the private obligation and their choice to withhold information was being questioned. After watching a few minutes, Lindsay decided Kreigle was "doing fine."

Of all the intricate relationships at city hall, one of the strangest is between Lindsay and his police department (it numbers over 30,000 men, larger than the standing army of Denmark, according to one of his researchers of fun facts). Cries of "police brutality" were heard the first time Lindsay ran. The mayor's answer was the ill-fated Civilian Review Board, which roused enmity in the police department, still top-heavy with working-class Irish and Italians. It was placed on the ballot and smashed in a referendum. Then Lindsay created a centralized, special investiga-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion unit within the department. Complaints have been rising annually as more and more white, middle-class citizens join their minority neighbors in registering complaints (some 3000 per year are filed), but they often involve minor matters such as "rudeness" that can be resolved in a face-to-face talk. That unit has been augmented by a special course in the police academy to help rookies spot possible sources of complaints and avoid them. To this has been added a corps of young lawyers trained by the police to help monitor street demonstrations and file reports afterwards. All this seems to have defused the issue of police brutality, although some claim it's really the press that has defused it by going on to other issues.

His experiences in "the cauldron" have taught Lindsay to laugh; he has a store of "good news, bad news" jokes. He'll need them, because his performance in New York is going to be an issue. The research material being handed out gives us a clue to how he will deal with it. For instance, FBI statistics on crime are supplied to show New York isn't in as bad shape as some other cities – particularly Washington, which is governed by a mayor and city council appointed by President Nixon. Seven major categories are shown for the 25 most populous cities and New York is well down the list on most: murder and nonnegligent manslaughter – New York, 16th with 14.2 per 100,000; Washington, 4th with 29.2; forcible rape – New York, fourth with 941.8; Washington, first with 1561.9; aggravated assault – New York, eighth with 397.3; Washington, second with 540.5.

It's an answer, but not a comfort. Lindsay will claim to have modernized the police communications methods, tried a host of experimental programs to curb drug abuse, etc. That might be a telling answer if a cause-and-effect relationship can be established.

There's also bound to be some suspicion in the country over his change in party affiliation, a change with which he says he's very comfortable. In Canton, he told the labor audience he had just "saved New York from five-and-one-half years of Republican tyranny." They laughed. But after the laughter dies down? Party loyalty isn't so binding these days and rumors of Lindsay's defection had been in the air since he was rejected by the Republicans in the 1969 primary. He took it step by step. In 1970, he endorsed Arthur Goldberg's losing effort against Rockefeller at a point when everyone knew the Goldberg campaign was a disaster; at the same time he stuck with Republican Sen. Charles Goodell (who backed Lindsay in the fall of 1969 after he lost the GOP primary) though Goodell was also doomed. His defection from Republican ranks has not cost him all his old, largely Republican, Museum of Modern Art, financial backing.

The men around him claim his ego doesn't have to be massaged, that he respects professionalism as contrasted with elitism: "I don't have to say 'good job, John' when he steps out of a TV studio. Instead, he'll come in and say 'O.K. What's the problem. What do we do.' " That kind of personal security makes for a better administrator and adds to Lindsay's effectiveness as a campaigner. But more than John Lindsay, the man, will be tested in Florida. His record as mayor, the question of identifying with the problems of cities, the strategy of singling out Washington as "the enemy" will come under scrutiny. In Florida, 81 delegates will be selected and Lindsay has to show well there.

It's just possible he couldn't have picked a better place, for it has Jewish voters in Miami Beach, Latins in Tampa and Miami, huge WASP retirement settlements along both coasts, poor whites in the northern and central rural counties, good media markets, large concentrations of students, blacks scattered throughout the state, plus an unstructured politics made even more fluid by a rapid growth rate. (Still, there was some heckling when Lindsay toured a shopping center in Miami, on the day he announced his candidacy. "I came here to get away from that guy," said one escapee from Manhattan.) Lately, Florida has veered toward a moderately liberal, populist approach under Gov. Reuben Askew and Sen. Lawton Chiles. But in March, it will have a choice between a wide array of Democrats from Senators Henry M. Jackson, Hubert Humphrey, Edmund S. Muskie and George McGovern, as well as Rep. Shirley Chisholm, Lindsay and possibly Gov. George Wallace of Alabama. Where does Lindsay go for his coalition?

In 1969 in New York City he put together the black vote (81 percent), the Puerto Ricans, a significant share of the Jewish vote, what little remains of the WASP vote in New York City and the young, particularly the young, in Manhattan. Can he do it in Florida? Jackson and Humphrey are already working the Jewish vote in Miami Beach and, no doubt, those voters are hearing from friends in Brooklyn about the four Jewish shopkeepers who have been shot in recent months and the growing intrusion of crime in their old neighborhoods. McGovern has been working the campuses for months. Chisholm is picking up key allies in the black community and plans to use her fluent Spanish in Miami and Tampa. So Lindsay will have to look elsewhere. This could account for his new interest in the blue-collar workers, the very ones who turned their backs on him back at home in 1969.

Actually, Lindsay's hope probably isn't in coalition building, be it in Florida or Wisconsin. McGovern has already shown himself adept at that. Nor in building from a party base. Muskie is nailing that one down. Or in labor's leadership. They like Jackson and Humphrey too well. Or even in the rural poor who'll gravitate toward a Wallace. For Lindsay, the hope lies in being able to evoke an excitement that will rip off voters in every category. In his sex appeal. Given the malaise that has spread over rank-and-file Democratic voters in recent months, it's not to be discounted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nicholas Johnson on television

Beyond The Fairness Doctrine

Whatever the First Amendment may require of the mass media, it is not satisfied by the opportunity of every citizen to start his own television network. Nor do its rights extend only to the lucky trustees of the few stations that do exist. As the Supreme Court said in the *Red Lion* case, "There is no sanctuary in the First Amendment for unlimited private censorship operating in a medium not open to all."

The *Red Lion* case was the Supreme Court's unanimous rejection of the broadcasting industry's argument that the "Fairness Doctrine" was unconstitutional. In finding the Fairness Doctrine constitutional, the court went beyond it to lay the groundwork for the newly emerging doctrine of "access" – allowing individual citizens to get on the air and express themselves.

The Fairness Doctrine is extremely limited as an extension of the First Amendment. All it achieves is avoidance of the grossest abuses: the use of a station as an instrument of propaganda for one point of view. It does not – so far – guarantee any individual a right to put on his own program or commercial. The only areas of personal access presently are the "Equal Opportunity" doctrine (during campaigns if one candidate gets non-news time his opponents can demand an "equal opportunity"), and the "Personal Attack Doctrine" (anyone personally attacked has a right of reply). The Fairness Doctrine merely provides that a station must cover "controversial issues of public importance," and that when it does so, it must present all points of view. It is enforced in random fashion by citizen complaints (often inadequately supported); the FCC generally gives the broadcaster the benefit of the doubt as to the balance in his programming if he has made any effort at all; there is no sanction except that the broadcaster present the omitted point of view; and – the most severe limitation – the broadcaster has almost sole discretion as to by whom, and how, the views will be presented.

The doctrine of access got its first boost in a case involving WTOP in Washington, and a group of antiwar businessmen (BEM). The businessmen wanted to buy time for antiwar "commercials." WTOP refused. The FCC sustained the station (over my dissent). The Court of Appeals reversed. The Court did not go so far as to say the station had to sell the time to BEM; but it did say that it couldn't refuse to sell the time to any and all such groups just because they are selling ideas rather than products. This is a tremendous step forward, but is still a long way from "participatory television."

A more direct application of "access" may come to life on cable television. In the FCC's historic August 5, 1971 Statement of Policy to Chairmen Pastore and MacDonald, it provides for the right of all comers to buy time on cable systems. If the rates are kept low, creative evasions of the spirit of the rule don't evolve, an adequate quantity of half-inch video taping equipment is made available, and the number of channels is in fact expanded to handle demand (as the rules contemplate), America could emerge as the first nation to brave the experiment of turning the mass media over to the masses.

The problem with the reactionary wing of the broadcasting industry is that it not only opposes the Fairness Doctrine, it also opposes access, and cable television as well. It is hard for one to draw any other conclusions from such a position than that the industry *is* mindful of the power it has and doesn't want to relinquish it.

President Nixon's Director of Telecommunications Policy, Dr. Clay ("Tom") Whitehead, has proposed abolishing the case-by-case fairness doctrine, creating paid access to television, and deregulating radio. Paid access gives me no trouble (he means access to the commercial time, as available), but I've never learned what "deregulation" of radio (long an industry rallying cry) really means. Certainly all would benefit by requiring a little less bureaucratic paper-shuffling for "Mom and Pop" daytime-only radio stations in the mountain states than for network-owned television stations in New York City. But everytime *I've* proposed substituting competition for regulation, I've encountered little but anguished cries from industry (foreign-built ships for our merchant marine; more equipment suppliers for telephones; cable television for broadcasting). If all I'm offered is a choice between monopolistic privilege with regulation and monopolistic privilege without regulation, I'm afraid I have to opt for the former.

My own enthusiasm for the Fairness Doctrine has never been unqualified. I don't like the government being involved in that level of programming detail; the rationale for individual decisions can become convoluted and cumbersome; the public doesn't get that much from it anyway. But before I'll vote to abolish it, somebody's going to have to tell me what's in the grab bag I get in exchange.

Where are we headed? Total access in cable can mean a lot ten to twenty years from now. Limited access to commercial-over-the-air stations is a step forward. Limitations on stations' censorship practice are called for (at least to the extent of prohibiting the censoring of nonlibelous statements of guests speaking on the subjects for which invited).

I've long proposed the "one-third prime time rule." (Each network would be required to program one-third of its prime time with material other than the current lowest-common-denominator sponsored fare. Properly staggered, viewers would always have the alternative programming of one commercial network to choose from.) The FCC's three-hour prime-time rule (network affiliates can accept only three hours of network programming per night) is a small step consistent with this proposal.

Regularly scheduled, free letters-to-the-editor can be effective. CBS used them on "60 Minutes" to good effect. Mike Shapiro, station manager of WFAA-TV in Dallas, has for eleven years been reading critical letters from viewers over the air and answering them. This feature gets great ratings, and WFAA-TV plans syndication of the feature in other areas of the country.

More and more stations are experimenting with real access time, although most are educational. WGBX-TV in Boston, and John Montgomery's Iowa network, offer open time to all comers. New York City's Channel 13 has a program called "Free Time." Several commercial TV stations in California have, as the result of effective citizen pressure, begun offering time for "Free Speech Messages" to ordinary citizens with something they want to say. The

(continued on page 37)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Past in the Present

Kathleen and Frank by Christopher Isherwood

(Simon & Schuster; $10)

This is an extraordinary book about ordinary matters. At least they were ordinary once, in certain circles – the meeting, maneuverings, engagement, marriage, and (as long as it lasted) married life of an upper-middle-class English couple. The extraordinary interest comes from the fact that they wrote the book themselves, in diaries and letters, that the editing and the extensive comments were supplied by their son, and that the son is Christopher Isherwood.

He tells us at the end what we can surmise throughout: this book is essentially about himself. It rose from a desire to examine his life in relation to the subject matter of his books – one of the closest such relations in this "confessional" century. After his mother's death in 1960 he borrowed her diaries and his father's letters from his brother to help him in this inquiry. He underscores an entry in his mother's diary, when he was five: "After tea, C dictated a story called *The Adventures of Mummy and Daddy*, chiefly about himself!" Thus, it can be said, his career began. This book, this item in that career, is social-personal history in extremely close relation to the "historian." It's rather like coming on a cache of documentary film, edited and with narration by a fine filmmaker who is the son of the long-gone participants.

Kathleen and Frank were not "characters" in any knotty Victorian sense: they were representative. She, the only child of a prosperous wine merchant, was born in 1868 and died in 1960. Frank, a second son, was born in 1869 and was killed at Ypres in 1915. He came from an "old" family; an ancestor had been the first signer of Charles the First's death warrant (and the editor "even today . . . seldom misses a chance to boast of being descended from the Regicide"). Kathleen, who didn't marry until she was 35, occupied herself until then mostly with keeping busy, forming her character, and sighing gently about lost loves. (I know a London lady of the same class, now in her 80s. I asked her last summer what she had done before her own late marriage. She looked at me with kindly reproof of my ignorance and sweetly said, "Nothing.") Frank, although apparently gifted as painter and musician, went into the army. A second son had to do something.

The most obvious pleasure in reading a book of this kind is to see, as they happened, change and advent. In 1896 Kathleen has her first automobile ride and says of motor cars: "They are ugly and clumsy, heavy and smell horribly of paraffin." Her allegiance is to the past. In 1904 the family home is wired for electricity and she writes:

> All the lights were turned on, from floor to attics, and it may be very convenient but it dreadfully does away with the shadows and the mysteries and the charm. The light seems to pry into everything and I don't like it one bit.

Blériot flies the channel, and the first plane is seen overhead. Actors and authors and painters are noted as they emerge. The old Empress Eugénie is encountered with her "carriage and pair and black liveries." Queen Victoria's funeral cortège is seen from a balcony (as in *Cavalcade*). Austria's declaration of war on "Servia" is noted quite casually (as in dozens of novels and films).

Beyond these small, predictable pleasures lie at least four other kinds of reward. First is social insight. The maintenance of hierarchy is virtually a religious devotion with these people, the "placing" of inferiors. And something else becomes clear. The lengthy parleys between the engaged couple and her father, the arbitration about money arrangements, the father's fussiness about protocol, the signing of marriage agreements, all these are related directly to the maintenance of class position. These people, as Isherwood tells us, were very proud of being "landed gentry." They were intent on preserving their status and could do it only with money, for they had no blood or other prerogatives. When Kathleen's father frets about Frank's ability to provide for her, when Frank's older brother allows him some portion of the prospective estate, what they are really afraid of is not the young couple's possible starvation but the possible loss of their social position, which depends finally on money. (When Kathleen is settling Frank's estate after his death, she notes: "Felt so proud to say there were *no* debts – few can say that." In *Ulysses* Mr. Deasy says that the proudest word from an Englishman's mouth is: "I paid my way.")

Second, and connected with the above, is the way the diaries were written. Far from being a place for intimate outpourings, they gave Kathleen a chance to prove that the upper lip is stiff even when the well-bred person is alone. There may have been, as Isherwood suggests, some suspicion that the journals were read by others, but if Kathleen believed that, then the diaries are even more of a conscious performance. Entry after entry is reticent and noncommittal about private matters, particularly the meeting of the fiancés after which their correspondence becomes markedly more passionate. Consider, also, that Kathleen wrote lengthy entries on both days that she gave birth. (Rather painful births, too – she wasn't young.) Even if you grant the possibility that she may have written them later, the compulsion to write them later, to *seem* undistracted by the day's events, is remarkable. And read this entry for June 24, 1915, when, after three weeks of no word from her missing husband, she is notified of his death:

> Drove with Mama to the Club and on to the bank and to see Miss Robins. I fetched Mama and we dined at the Comedy on our way home. In the evening came a terrible letter from Arlington St, The British Red Cross and Order of St. John: [She quotes the letter). . .and so passes hope and life.

Imagine writing those first two sentences on a day that ended with the news of your husband's death. Imagine being able to write anything. Imagine wanting to sound composed, *privately*. Breeding tells, the English say; and one of the things it apparently tells is not to tell very much, even when absolutely alone. The side must not be let down even when no one is watching.

The (earlier) letters between the affianced couple show a good deal of role-playing, but this is more usual. (See Freud's letters to Martha Bernays.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Long engagements always entail some strain and fakery, which always provoke irritations and reconciliations, in cycles.

A third kind of reward is the series of comments that Isherwood the observer makes, possible only for a writer-artist. He says of his grandmother that she "was forced, for want of any other outlet, to express her temperament through the medium of illness. . . . She was no imaginary invalid, but a great psychosomatic virtuoso. . . ." He says that his Uncle Jack "had the eyes and mouth of a humorist, with big teeth, a dry witty voice" and that "his humor was cheerfully unkind, but not bitter or vicious." (Although I disagree with an occasional comment. He says that Kathleen and Frank, as lovers, suffered a "great handicap" through their shared interests, which "was actually an emotional barrier between them; when two people have so much to talk about to each other it is harder for them to find the all-important intimate silences." That sounds like the Wisdom of Somerset Maugham, not the author of *Prater Violet*.)

Last, there is the seen-unseen protagonist, Isherwood himself. All through the book he touches, as with a dye-stain, the elements that may have led to make him what he is: his father's interest in Asian religions, his juvenile concern with writing, his early passions for theater and film, his father's feminine characteristics (he often played women in amateur theatricals) as well as the various erotic experiences that may have fashioned Isherwood's homosexuality (not something he cites with regret), along with the genesis of *Lions and Shadows* (1938), his slightly veiled book about his "education in the Twenties."

The Afterword distills his feelings about his parents. He describes how he selected certain elements out of Frank, the Hero-Father, to make an Anti-Heroic Hero for himself. The American poet James Tate wrote a poem called "The Lost Pilot" about his father who was killed in combat in 1944 five months before he was born, and says in it:

> I feel as if I were
> the residue of a stranger's life,
> that I should pursue you.

Frank was not a stranger, but Isherwood has chosen the "subversive" residue of his father's life as a way to pursue him. He tells us, too, that Kathleen's beliefs "saved him" because he reacted

Money

Have you heard the bad news?

– the eighteen percenters have fallen on hard times
Their computers are asking time-and-a-half for overtime
Their rate of revenue increase is gutted by taxes

So sad

The IRS crooks are stealing from the installment-plan crooks
And the banker crooks
And the conglomerate crooks

Where to get money?

After all
to be in the business of money means one should have some

But the tax people want at least half
And the eighteen percenters want at least twice what they're getting
And the conglomerate crooks want New York Chicago LA

Which makes it real rough in the money game

But as for those who are not in the money game
well
They keep complaining

They are the ones who supply the work and the goods
That produce the money

Don't they know that if they want money they should be *in* money?

– the best information says they will be finally flat
In a couple of months
Down to their mortgaged drawers
Borrowing on the borrowing
Selling old clip-pins and souls
Loss leaders

Which wd be fine if only the crooks of the public
Or the crooks of the private
Sector wd feed them

but which?

Or would it be fine?

This is an old tragedy in America now pushing the last act
Never before have our aspirations for the common citizen been more remote
Never before has the capitalist pit as described by the socialists
been nearer

We are on the edge

Yet no politician of prominence dares speak to the point

Neither Party dares touch it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is agreed by everyone in any position of power (which is money)
That the business of the country is money
That there need be nothing left for the artisan (that sentimental
fragment out of an old novel)
Nothing left for the worker the clerk the teacher (those modern
anomalies)
Nothing for the salaried the waged

It is agreed that the proceeds of honest work may be should be will be eaten up by
"overhead"

Which is indeed over head
it hangs over
it sucks up

Until there is nothing left
nothing
But the misery of penury for the 99% who are not in money
And the misery of the national soul mired in money

For make no mistake the money game as now played smells
In the private sector
In the public sector
In the Congress and the White House
In the state capitals the city halls
And smells beyond smelling where the cartoon capitalists
Hang out as fat as ever taking their cut

It is robbery it is stealing it is theft
It is taking away the earnings of labor
And giving to those who do not labor
except as thieves labor
Modern thieves with computers

Marx was right Shaw was right
Name all the old radicals they were right

but where are the new radicals?
the new liberals?
reformers by any label?

– they are writing books about woodsy communes
Picketing for women's lib
Preaching peace
Making money promoting the new sex life

They are campaigning madly for integration and freedom
They are telling us that the old are bad and the young are good
That one shouldn't eat meat or obey teacher
They are searching the back alleys for millennia
While the money men gobble

What is this anyway
(oh America)?
Get wise

Get the crooks where they are
see!
they are in

MONEY

REED WHITTEMORE

so strongly against them and behaved exactly to the contrary. Yet her final acceptance of his life, including his settling in America, because it made him happy, "moved him very much. He took it as her blessing." (He writes of himself always in the third person.)

Some of the book could have been spared. Sometimes a plateau period between the lovers is well established before it finishes. Sometimes Isherwood oversupplies information (*e.g.*, his father's Boer War campaigns and the details of family history). And his publishers have served him poorly by putting his comments in italics, which often means *pages* of italics, uninviting to the eye. There were other typographical means to set off his comments from the diaries and letters.

Yet the book grows continually – quiet, intricate, solid. It reminded me of J. R. Ackerley's *My Father and Myself* (*NR*, March 29, 1969) in which a very good homosexual writer explores his character and life in relation to his family. Here an even better writer, also homosexual, investigates himself with materials provided by the family themselves. The tone is reticent, but the people are there – winding through their world, down to and into their editor.

And all, presumably, is not over: Isherwood reveals that he, too, is keeping a diary!

Stanley Kauffmann

A Collection of Self-expressions
by District of Columbia High School Students
Includes: Posters, Poetry, Art, and Postcards.
$3:00 each by mail

Literary-Arts Program
Secondary Office, Rm. 1101
Presidential Building
415-12th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A SPLIT SECOND IN ETERNITY

The Ancients Called It
COSMIC CONSCIOUSNESS

Must man die to release his *inner consciousness?* Can we experience *momentary flights* of the soul—that is, become *one with the universe* and receive an influx of great understanding?

The shackles of the body—its earthly limitations—can be thrown off and *man's mind can be attuned* to the Infinite Wisdom for a flash of a second. During this brief interval intuitive knowledge, great inspiration and a new vision of our life's mission are had. Some call this great experience a psychic phenomenon. But the ancients knew it and taught it as *Cosmic Consciousness*—the merging of man's mind with the Universal Intelligence.

Let This Free Book Explain

This is *not* a religious doctrine, but the application of *simple*, natural laws which give man an insight into the great Cosmic plan. They make possible a source of great joy, strength and a regeneration of man's personal powers. Write to the Rosicrucians, an age-old brotherhood of understanding, for a *free* copy of the book, "The Mastery of Life." It will tell you how, in the privacy of your own home, you may indulge in these mysteries of life known to the ancients. Address: Scribe B.L.G.

The Rosicrucians

SAN JOSE (AMORC) CALIF., 95114, U.S.A.

SEND THIS COUPON

Please Include Your Zip Code

Scribe B.L.G.
The ROSICRUCIANS (AMORC)
San Jose, California 95114

Please send me the *free* book, *The Mastery of Life*, which explains how I may learn to use my faculties and powers of mind.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip Code_____

Education

West German Universities

Marburg

West Germany's burgeoning university student population – now 400,000 – occupies 43 campuses, all under state control. There is no private college or university system; no Oxford, Harvard, Sarah Lawrence, Antioch. What diversity there is arises from regional, sectarian and historical differences. Each element of diversity struggles, through the state university bureaucracy, to impose its own brand of "pluralism" upon the others. A small, agile and committed Left is fighting an equally determined, older, entrenched Right for the privilege of cutting the future pattern for that vast majority who want not metaphysics but jobs, homes, peace and social security.

The lines began to harden about 1967. A business recession signaled that the West German postwar "economic miracle" was coming to an end, and the Germans with their boundless appetite for myth, especially the myth of community security, panicked. Press lord Axel Springer's *Bild Zeitung*, the four-million circulation sex-crime-scandal-sports sheet that dominates West Germany's information horizon, rang the alarm over beards, bombs, drugs, long hair, Anabaptist sexuality, and social revolution – Communism, that is. And it must be said that many student activists did little to discourage that version of the Left. Insults, the heaving of rocks and rotten eggs during demonstrations at the great city universities – Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Cologne and Munich – brought police retaliation. The SPD (Social Democratic Party), whose politicians controlled big city police forces, was blamed for countering with water cannons, clubbings, mounted cops riding down innocent bystanders. At that stage, however, West German student demands were largely for reform of the outdated, hierarchical, inefficient, and (it was claimed) class-oriented state university system. Prodded by student protests and supported by a wide body of opinion within and without the universities, the SPD-controlled State of Hesse pioneered university reform with legislation it squeezed past an embattled Right in May of 1970. The testing ground for this reform law, however, has not been Hesse's Frankfurt University, whose uproar of five years ago has become a whisper, but – of all places – old, traditional Marburg, a country campus where prudent burghers have sent their children for safe-keeping.

Founded in 1527, the first German Protestant university after the Reformation and later the center of neo-Kantianism, Marburg is some hundred buildings, 10,000 students, libraries, clinics, dormitories, duelling fraternities, and university staff, which makes up about the half of the local population and supports most of the economy of a medieval-looking, custom-swaddled town. That anything like a Marxist revolution should find its center here is a good deal like having Berkeley transferred to William and Mary.

The student trend leftward began with the Godesberg Program of the SPD in 1958. Today, following more than a decade of crises, there is continuing demand for complete Marxist restructuring. Marburg University, with Marxist control of the political science and sociology departments, of teaching posts in university-wide tutorials, and of student seats in powerful administrative bodies is now one of the German Communist Party's most promising investments.

Sleepy, medieval, romantic old Marburg has become transformed: long hair, minis, street demonstrations against rising rents and bus fares; against the military budget; against special universities for the military; against Vietnam (of course) and the West German abortion law; against the imprisonment of Angela Davis and for sexual freedom. But Communism? Here are a few of the remarks one hears: "An element we never had before." "If the worst comes to the worst – and I think it will – I can always give up my civil service security and go back to Argentina and work in

Note

A book by Peter Barnes entitled *Pawns: The Plight of the Citizen Soldier* has just been published by Knopf. Barnes is West Coast editor of *The New Republic*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Today's Saturday Review is full of important ideas

The first and most important idea is to use the order card or coupon provided to start America's thought-weekly coming to you regularly. At substantial savings.

Ideas are the driving force of today's *knowledge society*. The launching pad for what we think and talk about . . . how we live, act, and react.

Ideas are the driving force of today's expanded SATURDAY REVIEW. The launching pad for articles and features that make news and conversation, stimulate thought and action every week.

SR articles are timely and relevant. Written by experts who express their viewpoints and concerns . . . offer sound, workable solutions for today's problems and tomorrow's challenges. A few examples from recent issues:

The Dossier Invades the Home *by Ralph Nader*

The Making of a Conservationist *by Walter J. Hickel*

Mercury: How Much Are We Eating? *by Peter and Katherine Montague*

What New Role for the People's Republic of China? *by Richard C. Hottelet*

The Sexes: Getting It All Together *by Faubion Bowers*

Fiction as a Social Gathering *by Alfred Kazin*

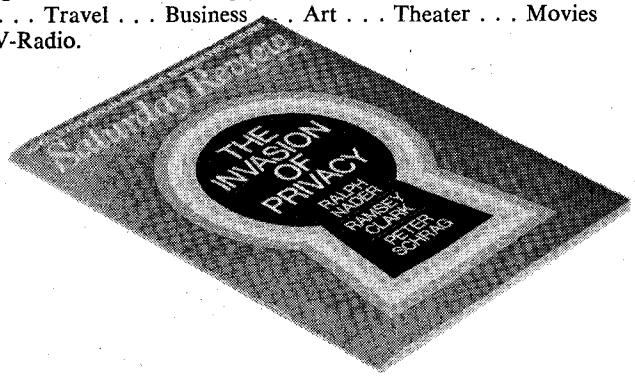
The Failure of Federal Gun Control *by Carl Bakal*

Youth Revolt: The Future Is Now *by Margaret Mead*

In addition, SATURDAY REVIEW brings your way one of the most vigorous editorial pages in America . . . wide-ranging feature columns that combine wit, wisdom, and opinion . . . delightful cartoons . . . material by – and for – religious leaders of all faiths . . . and those fascinating brain teasers: Double-Crostics, Literary I.Q., Wit Twisters, and Literary Cryptograms.

TWELVE MAGAZINES FOR THE PRICE OF ONE

SATURDAY REVIEW covers the subjects that influence, interest, and concern *you*. The magazine that started as the SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE is now the SATURDAY REVIEW of Literature . . . U.S. and World Affairs . . . Environment . . . MultiMedia (including Music and Recordings) . . . Education . . . Communications . . . Travel . . . Business . . . Art . . . Theater . . . Movies . . . TV-Radio.



A MAGAZINE THAT KEEPS GROWING

As new topics and ideas become vital to our lives and futures, SR moves quickly to cover them.

As a result, your own interests and horizons expand as SATURDAY REVIEW continues to grow and cover new ground week after week.

All of which explains why SR is now read by more than two million men and women each week. People whose time – like your own – is limited – but whose interests are not.

Enjoy all of SATURDAY REVIEW's *important ideas* in the weeks and months ahead. Start right now by enjoying SR's idea of a money-saving, get-acquainted offer!

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY RATE
FOR NEW SUBSCRIBERS ONLY

34 ISSUES ONLY 3.97

(a $17.00 newsstand value; regularly $7.85 by subscription)

Money-Back Guarantee: If SATURDAY REVIEW isn't all you expect and hope for, you may cancel your subscription *at any time* and receive a *full refund*. Not the usual refund on unmailed copies, but your money back in full. Use postage-free card or coupon below to enter your subscription.

SATURDAY REVIEW
380 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

Please enter my introductory subscription to Saturday Review for 34 issues at only $3.97.

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me
(Offer good only in U.S. and Canada)

Name_____
(please print)

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

A102

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the family business." "When I can no longer hope to avoid it, I will resign my professorship. I would rather be an honest street-sweeper than a teacher under a dictatorship." "It is coming. Proper measures even three years ago might have stopped it; now it is too late." "With luck we may weather this crisis through; I am banking on public opinion to stop the wave." "I have two more years until I can retire and live out my life as I please." "It is exactly like when the Nazis were taking over the universities after 1933." "I am a liberal, and I have approved the appointments of Marxist faculty members so long as they were flexible and intelligent scholars, but I draw the line at unqualified dogmatists whose power ploys will destroy our liberalism."

The obscenities and revolutionary (and counterrevolutionary) slogans on the multi-million Deutsche Mark complex of new buildings; the poster and placard barrage from the Left (and occasionally) Right and Center inside those buildings; the sit-ins, boycotts, classroom imprisonments, and (in Berlin) rough handling of professors; the disturbances calculated to break up both university lectures and public meetings called by opposition philosophies – these have left their scars on the most tolerant academics. The subdued resentment among Marburg townspeople is frightening. "But Marburg, Bremen, Berlin and Heidelberg are special cases," one relatively hopeful and very liberal professor points out. "The majority of West German universities are still so hidebound that they could stand a dose of revolution. I wish we could lend them some of ours."

The Hessian University Reform Law of 1970 satisfies nobody. It dismantled the structure of academic hierarchy; henceforth there will be one rank only: University teacher. "We wanted and welcomed reforms," says law professor Dr. Ekkehard Kaufmann, president of the German Association of University Professors, who in 1970 resigned his Rektorship at Marburg in protest against the new law. "But we did not want reforms to be exploited as political tactics." The Marxists have captured important positions in the ruling administrative and departmental bodies from which funds, curricula and appointments are controlled or directed. Aggressive and, it is claimed, unscrupulous methods have enabled an organized ten percent of the student body to control elections for the students' share of seats. In addition, Marxists now control a number of academic appointments. Prospective lecturers who profess liberal academic ideals are either voted down or, where Marxist voting strength is insufficient, boycotted and harassed. All of this, the established professors claim, substitutes ideological for professional qualifications and atomizes the university community.

The Marxists answer that the "bourgeois university" is no longer suited to reality, and that a "pluralism," which effectively excludes Marxist ideas, or "academic freedom," which disregards social goals (Marxist-defined), are mere bourgeois camouflage to mask control and exploitation by the ruling classes of monopoly capitalism. Moreover, say the Marxists, while it may be true that dissolution of the professorial hierarchy will lower professional quality, the hidden truth is that what really bothers the professors is the prospect of losing prestige and material advantages.

This spring, the national government is expected to pass a university reform law that could clip the wings of liberal Hessian law and similar legislation. New measures have already been adopted to tighten up on student stipends (about 30 percent of students in West German universities get, on an average, DM 250 a month, with tuition free for everybody). Limits will be put – perhaps an average of eight semesters – on how long students are to be subsidized. A rather American system of undergraduate schools followed by qualitative selection for graduate schools, will be established. Grades will be emphasized, whereas in some cases they are now ignored altogether. The Left smells a plot. Students will have to work harder just to keep their places in school; there will be less time to educate fellow students for "a democratic society." The Left with some justification sees itself being maneuvered out of the gains of five years of political activity.

The underlying fact in all this is that the supply of university facilities cannot keep up with the demand for what no politician in a vote-buying democracy dare openly limit: education. Students want broader curricula, more dormitories, higher stipends, smaller classes, better buildings and labs, larger libraries, more teachers. But there are other pressures on the politicians. The aged want better hospitals and higher pensions; parents want increased child-allowances, more and better lower-schools with smaller classes; the military want up-to-date ordnance; workers want pay increases to meet inflation. What with the revaluation of the Deutsche Mark and falling export prospects, a world economic adjustment looming ahead, and a domestic economy stretched far beyond its "miracle" potential, the honeymoon for students is over.

A shake-out has to come, and even funny money cannot hold it off forever. The demand of Marxist students for "basic studies in methodology and social and political sciences" is a natural budget-cut when times become hard. For conservatives, it is a tempting political move, too, for it would vitiate the influence at Marburg (and elsewhere) of those departments dominated by Marxist thinking: mainly political science and sociology.

But who will cut university allotments? Certainly not the SPD, whose supporters expect for their children an education that comes somewhere near to what Communist East Germany is now giving. Nor will the Christian Democrats, for they need votes, too. Furthermore, the two-party system established after 1945 to preclude a repetition of the splinterism of the Weimar Republic is almost a collection of splinters itself, bound precariously together by hopes, patronage, propaganda, inertia, and that piece of paper in Bonn called the Constitution. Meanwhile, life goes on in Marburg. Over 10,000 students (up 4000 from a decade ago and continually rising) study as usual and eventually get degrees. But the quality of instruction is declining, like the quality of new students who come from mass-production high schools, and the faculty is dispirited or frustrated by impossible demands made upon it by the University Reform Law. There are demands that professors lecture and teach according to philosophies alien to their training, that research and instruction consider their

Coming: George Charney reconsiders Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class*

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

NICHOLAS JOHNSON *is Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, and author of* How to Talk Back to Your Television Set *(Little, Brown/Bantam).* ROBERT WULIGER, *resident in West Germany since 1958, received his Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and has taught English at the University of California and University of Maryland.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Good Society of Good Books

"It is a great thing to start life with a small number of really good books which are your very own."
Arthur Conan Doyle

YOU ARE INVITED TO BEGIN BUILDING YOUR OWN PERSONAL LIBRARY OF CLASSICS BY BECOMING A MEMBER OF THE

BLACK & GOLD LIBRARY SOCIETY

You can begin to build a fine library in your own home, so that you and your family can enjoy some of the world's greatest literature by reaching out a hand!

You don't have to reach too deeply into your pocket, either! Each beautifully bound volume costs but $3.95, plus a small charge for postage and handling. Books that normally cost up to $6.95 each, at that!

Since 1925 the renowned Black and Gold Library has brought to the English-speaking public outstanding and unusual classics which belong in the home of every literate person. History, biography, religion, poetry, psychology, and literature . . . all are represented. Each octavo volume is the original publisher's edition, full library size, with pages 5¾" x 8¾" . . . has a heavy, close-grained, polished-cloth binding richly stamped in gold with red, blue or green and printed on paper chosen for its durability, color, and texture!

To get you started, the Liveright Publishing Company is offering an unprecedented value on this extraordinary collection. THREE OF THESE VOLUMES—namely, THE ELEVEN COMEDIES OF ARISTOPHANES, a shrewdly penetrating, rollicking satire by the greatest of the ancient satirists, CHARTERHOUSE OF PARMA by Stendahl, cited by the eminent critic Andre Gide as first among all the novels of Rance . . . and the SHORTER NOVELS OF HERMAN MELVILLE, including "Billy Budd," "Benito Cereno," and "Barnaby the Scrivener." They are all yours for ONE DOLLAR each, plus the small shipping charge. By joining the Society *now*, you not only have the advantage of this low price, but you will *be guaranteed a preferred price* on all subsequent purchases, inflation or no inflation!

The complete list of Black and Gold Library titles will be sent to you with your first three special introductory volumes. There are over 50 volumes in all, with new titles continually added. Among the outstanding exciting books are: DROLL STORIES by Honore de Balzac, ART OF LOVE by Ovid, the COMPLETE POEMS OF HART CRANE, the CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE, EXOTIC JAPANESE STORIES by Ryunosuke Akutagawa, GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOANALYSIS by Sigmund Freud, HELOISE AND ABELARD by George Moore, HENRY VIII by Francis Hackett, THE RED AND THE BLACK by Stendahl, THE PHYSIOLOGY OF TASTE by Brillat-Savarin, the SATYRICON OF PETRONIUS ARBITER, the TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO edited by Manuel Komroff. They are books you and your family will want to read and re-read, use as reference, quote from!

Consider this exceptional 4-point program!

1. **NO MINIMUM NUMBER OF BOOKS TO BUY!** It is our expectation that most members of the Society will want to take advantage of membership to build a splendid library. But if for any reason you want to resign your membership, you can immediately, with no obligation to the Society.

2. **NO RED TAPE!** You're dealing with people, not computers. There are no forms to fill out, nothing you need do. You will receive the addition to your home library each month, at $3.95 per volume plus shipping, as long as you remain a member of the Society.

3. **PAY NOTHING IN ADVANCE!** Even the first three volumes, regular $20.85 value, are yours on credit. You may return these volumes within 30 days and owe us nothing. Otherwise, you will pay us $1 each for the first 3 volumes of your library (plus postage and handling). Thereafter, you will receive your addition each month at $3.95 (plus postage and handling). You may return any volume within 30 days for full credit.

4. **CHARTER MEMBERSHIP CARD!** With your order, you will receive your numbered Black and Gold Library Society Card. This card is your protection and guarantee of the lowest prices on these classic volumes.

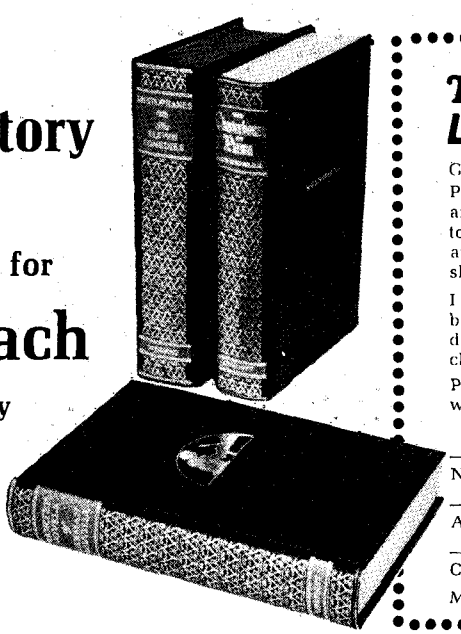
SPECIAL Introductory OFFER!

First 3 Books for

$1.00 each

(a value regularly up to $20.85)

. . . Then just $3.95 for each classic thereafter!



BLACK & GOLD LIBRARY SOCIETY

Liveright Publishing Company
386 Park Avenue South
New York, N. Y. 10016

Gentlemen:

Please accept my application for charter membership in the Black and Gold Library Society and send me the first 3 volumes (Aristophanes' *Eleven Comedies*, Stendahl's *Charterhouse of Parma*, and Melville's *Shorter Novels*). Bill me later at $1 per book plus shipping and handling.

I understand that a Black and Gold Library Society selection will be sent to me each month for just $3.95 plus shipping and handling. If I return any volume within 30 days, there will be no charge. I may resign at any time.

Please rush my Black and Gold Library Society membership card, which guarantees me the lowest possible price per volume.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Members must be 21 years of age and residents of the U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"social consequences" (undefined), and that knowledge of any research or teaching which ignores its "social consequences," even outside the university area, must be made public.

Marburg Spartakus students and their ideological allies say they would be satisfied if a fair number of Marxist teachers were appointed. But who would they be, ask some of the more conservative professors? Teachers of the quality of Paul Sweezy, Oskar Lange, George Lukacs or other first-class Marxists hardly exist in West Germany. Then what about Marxists of the second level? "We do not want second-level academicians of any kind here," is the answer. But the rapid expansion of West German education *has* brought the appointment of many second-level people, so why not a few second-level Marxists? To which the reply is: "What pluralism we have been able to achieve so far will be scuttled when sufficient Marxists maneuver into positions where they can make this a Marxist university."

It is an old, liberal dilemma, and the battle, like most student battles, is out of the past: Engels and Dühring, Bernstein and Kautsky, Thaelmann and Hitler. One aim of student *agitprop*, for example, is "through common action, to create mass recognition of the dangers of Fascism." But it is the provocative and personally abusive barrage of leaflets on the Marburg campus that itself is most likely to incite Fascists' emotions.

The student activists have strong allies within the trade unions, where the policy of mutual participation in management decisions has, in many cases, also become a political ploy. Otto Brenner, chief of the Metal Workers, the largest and most powerful union in West Germany, is fighting to keep radicals from taking his already radical leadership into a more extreme camp. David Dubinsky would feel at home in that struggle for power, but it is doubtful if he would be as successful here as he was in the United States. For anti-Communism, whether in German unions or universities, is not just an abstraction or a gimmick to win elections, as it so often is in the United States. Half of this once-united people has been in Communist hands for a quarter of a century. In the east, the German Democratic Republic has also had its economic miracles, without help from the rich West, and it would like to extend its hold over "the working class."

No thoughtful West German, especially in the universities, wants to see a repetition of the authoritarianism of the '30s and '40s. Liberals and conservatives both, with the people back of them, want political differences to be settled by dialogue and not by the *Bundeswehr* – or worse. But if there is no dialogue, what then? Marburg Marxist students have refused to sit down and talk out the basic issues with professors of other persuasions, except in terms of the students' closed system. Conservative professors seem to have a closed system of their own: a recent public meeting convened in hopes of finding some approach to dialogue was about as useful as the Vietnam talks in Paris. Liberal teachers, who accept the finality of no truth except the search for truth, are temperamentally and intellectually unable to deal with dogma, no matter how humanitarian its aims. The deadlock here seems complete. What hopes liberals have are personal.

Robert Wuliger

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. For complete information, send for booklet NR-1. It's free. Vantage Press, 516 West 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001.

Correspondence

Water Pollution Control

Sirs:

I do not normally react by letter to newspaper or magazine articles but really feel impelled to do so in the case of the report entitled "Hold Your Nose," which I read last night in my copy of the December 25 New Republic.

I think that my main unhappiness lies with the description of my own testimony. The most troublesome portion is as follows: "It's the toughest anti-pollution program Congress has ever considered – and the administration is fighting hard to defeat it. Russell Train, director of the Council on Environmental Quality, told House committee members that under such a strict timetable, 'water quality in many cases may suffer.' Angry industries, he implied, would do nothing rather than comply."

I said nothing in my testimony or in my replies to questions that either expressly or implicitly gives any credence whatsoever to the report that I indicated "angry industries . . . would do nothing rather than comply." While in the course of five hours of questions and answers it might be possible to find almost any range of expression, I know of nothing that would support this particular reporting.

We have had major differences with the Senate version of the bill but these differences represent seriously held, conscientiously arrived at, substantive concerns over the effectiveness of the legislation. The administration submitted strong water-quality legislative recommendations to the Congress in February 1970. There was no action in that session of Congress. We again submitted extensive recommendations in February 1971. The permit program to which your article refers was instituted by Executive action by the President approximately a year ago. A major reason for such Executive action had been the fact that Congress had not acted on the administration's recommendations for effluent standards submitted in February 1970.

I disagree with a number of the other implications of statements in your article. For example, although only about half of the 44,000 industries have submitted permit applications, these cover over 90 percent of the waste. And EPA has sued a number of industries to require them to submit permits.

You imply the administration has not pursued a vigorous enforcement program, although the level of enforcement actions is at an all time high. For example, our annual report indicated that during the first eleven months of fiscal year 1971, approximately 159 criminal actions were initiated under the Refuse Act compared with 129 criminal actions in the entire fiscal year 1970. In contrast, an average of only 43 criminal prosecutions per year was initiated under the act in fiscal years 1964 to 1969. Most criminal actions during the past year have resulted in convictions and assessment of fines. In one case alone, a violator was fined $125,000; in another, $25,000.

I feel the administration's actions in submitting two major water pollution control bills to the Congress, initiating the nationwide Refuse Act program and increasing greatly the level of enforcement actions, indicates the administration's strong commitment to water pollution control. I believe your article assumes that honest differences of opinion on the best approach to clean water pollution can be simply characterized as pro- or anti-water pollution

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

control. I believe this is most unfortunate, especially considering the great importance of airing a wide range of viewpoints on this important legislation.

Russell E. Train
Chairman, Council on Environmental Quality

Dental Group Care

Sirs:

I read with great interest your article in the December 18th issue entitled "Cooperatives" by Peter Barnes. I write this because I am the Dental Director and Manager of the Group Health Dental Cooperative, which is a sister organization to the Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound. We are legally and economically two separate entities. However, we are involved with each other and there is a great deal of professional consultation between us. Our clinics are either close to, or in the same building with, the Group Health Medical facilities. To my knowledge, we are the only Dental Cooperative in existence and, although we have had our ups and downs, we, since 1953, have consistently grown larger and larger to the point where we now take care of more than 4000 families in three clinics with fourteen dentists, six of whom specialize, along with a staff of hygienists, laboratory techs, x-ray techs, assistants and a business office – all of whom number more than 52 employees.

Harry Rowe, D.D.S.
Seattle, Wash.

Electronic Warfare

Sirs:

The New Republic has been one of the few publications to give substantial coverage to the automated battlefield by which, with Asian mercenaries and conscripts, the US military now continues the Indochina war. Nixon speaks of the present as a "peacetime economy" while air bombardments of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam continue to destroy lives and villages, and ever greater amounts of US taxpayer's money are used for military purposes.

In November, Women Strike for Peace and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom launched a campaign against ITT (International Telephone & Telegraph) to educate the public about the extent to which this giant corporation is involved in production for "phase two" of Nixon's war – the electronic battlefield. ITT owns many large enterprises such as Continental Baking Co., Sheraton Corporation, Avis Rent-a-Car, the Florida Palm Coast development, etc. Taking the common product Wonder Bread as a readily available target, the campaign's slogan "Don't Buy Bombs When You Buy Bread" attempts to convey succinctly the connection between this daily-bought item which is claimed to "build bodies in 12 ways" while its ultimate producer ITT helps destroy several hundred bodies daily in Indochina.

An official at ITT's headquarters in New York told a group of women that he did not understand why they had picked ITT: "We only make the electronic sensors," he said disingenuously. These are the devices scattered around the Indochinese countryside that bring on the bombings of any human beings who get near them. . . .

Those who want to protest this elec-

THE HEAVIEST HUMAN ON RECORD WEIGHED 1,069 LBS. AND WAS BURIED IN A PIANO CASE!

The Highest Alimony Ever Paid Was $11,550,000. A War That Lasted 38 Min. A Woman Who Bore 69 Children. The Largest Insect...a "Goliath Beetle." The World's Most Expensive Perfume At $370 An Ounce.

The biggest! The smallest! The richest! The highest! The oldest! The longest! The fastest! The greatest! **The Guinness Book Of World Records** contains over 3,000 records of science, nature, the achievements of man, the world of sports, the arts, entertainment and little known fantastic phenomena. Packed with unbelievable facts and over 350 photos.

Settle any argument! Amaze your friends! You will not be able to put it down.

This 600 page hard covered volume is a must for any library. Over 5,000,000 copies sold worldwide. Only **$5.95** (money back guarantee).

GUINNESS BOOK, P. O. BOX 1192
ANSONIA STATION, NEW YORK 10023

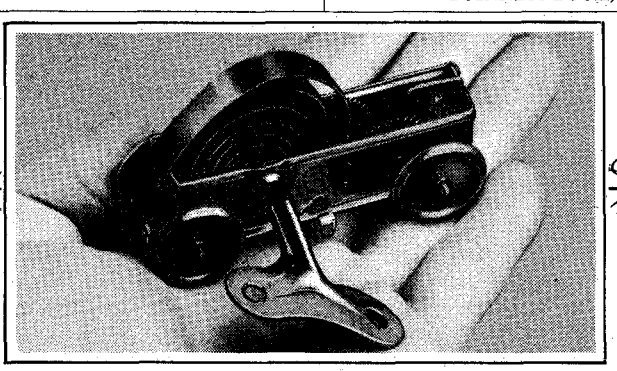
Please rush me____**Guinness Book Of World Records** at $5.95 each (plus 60¢ postage and handling). Enclosed is my check or money order for_____. If I am not completely satisfied, I will return the book within 15 days for a full refund.

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

(Make check/M.O. payable to GUINNESS BOOK)



The Classic Mechanical Toy

WITH POWERFUL CLOCKWORK MOTOR

own an entire fleet of 6 for only $5.95

Remember the good old days when they really knew how to make mechanical toys? They made them out of heavy, stamped metal, not plastic. The toys had powerful wind-up motors and lots of whirring, clicking reduction gears that seemed to keep running forever. We used to take the toys apart because the motors were really the most fascinating part.

Well, after lots of looking, we managed to find a group of highly skilled, dedicated craftsmen overseas who were able to duplicate exactly the top quality, spring-driven classic toy car motors that were precision-made almost a quarter-century ago by gifted German toy masters. These toy motors have virtually unbreakable blue carbon steel springs that we personally clocked at 3½-minutes running time (that's a long time); they have 8 separate metal cogwheel gears (cheap toys have only 2); there's a unique cut-off device that automatically stops the motor when the car overturns or bumps into something (it starts automatically again when the car is righted); the chassis and wheels are heavy stamped metal; and there's superb workmanship throughout.

They're fascinating. They scoot all over the place with gears whirring and clicking. You can race them. Build things. They provide hours of educational fun for the kids. Hobbyists love them. They're marvelous for relieving executive tensions. They just don't make 'em like this anymore. And you can now buy an entire fleet of 6 for less than you'd expect to pay for a single plastic toy nowadays.

Order No. 40700: Set of 6 CLASSIC MECHANICAL CARS (Complete with jumbo wind-up keys) only $5.95 (plus 60¢ postage). Send check or money order.

(N.Y. residents add sales tax.)

FREE gift catalog on request.

THE EVERYTHING GUARANTEE:

The GALLERY guarantees EVERYTHING: The quality, accuracy of description, availability, prompt delivery. If not delighted, return the cars **within 3 weeks after you receive them** (not the usual 10 days) for an instant refund of purchase price.

finer things by mail from The GALLERY Dept. 3489, Amsterdam, N.Y. 12010

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tronic, no-guilt warfare can refuse to buy Wonder Bread, Hostess Cakes, and other products of ITT's Continental Baking Co., and by writing ITT's president, H. S. Geneen, 320 Park Avenue, New York, NY. We may not topple ITT, but we might make a dent, if only in the "worldwide service" image.

Ann Davidon
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Ethel Taylor
Women Strike for Peace

Lincoln Steffens

Sirs:

In his letter in the December 18, 1971 issue, Professor Shapiro argues that corruption was rightly attributed by Lincoln Steffens to the "institutional arrangements" of American society. I'm not sure what "arrangements" he means. A society in which political leaders are elected, in which there is a wide pluralism in governmental structures, in which the federal principle operates and in which men are presumed innocent until their guilt is established, is very likely to have more corruption than one where the opposite phenomena are to be found. Thus, I would presume that in more "civilized" countries like the United Kingdom or Canada where people can be imprisoned indefinitely without indictment or charge on the mere suspicion of crime, it would be easier to control corruption. One could simply proclaim that corruption had created a national emergency and cart all the corrupters off to jail.

On the other hand, he may mean that America is a society put together in a relatively brief period of time from many different racial, religious, ethnic and economic groups; it is spread over a vast continent and has only yesterday ended its frontier experience. Unquestionably, such a society will have a hard time developing a tradition of civility that reduces corruption to a minimum.

However, corruption does not exactly seem to be limited to American society. Indeed, it seems almost part of the human condition. There are apparently only two ways to fight it: One either establishes a rigid and authoritarian system of social control in which an absolutely incorruptible elite severely punishes even the hint of corruption (usually with death or long imprisonment), or one develops slowly and painfully through the years a tradition of civility that most segments of the society support. Neither strategy – and the latter is more likely to be effective in the long run than the former – completely eliminates corruption; it only holds it in check.

The United Kingdom may well have made great progress in the latter strategy, though how recently and with how much effort ought to be obvious to any student of British history. That American civility did not develop at the same pace with its British counterpart is the result of obvious historical events. There would have been a strategy which would have enabled us to keep pace: 1) We should have stayed part of the British Empire; 2) we should have stayed off the frontier; and, above all, 3) we should have kept the non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants out. But if we had followed that strategy, neither Professor Shapiro nor I would be writing letters to *The New Republic*. We might not even be.

Andrew M. Greeley, Director
Center for the Study of American Pluralism

Aid to Education

Sirs:

"The Greening of Education" (November 13) was a disturbing article – that is, the article itself, as well as the subject matter, was disturbing. Although upon first examination the proposal to give a maximum of $1400 in aid to a needy student to attend the college of his choice appears to be a worthy one, the editors of NR did not look into the ramifications of that proposal as it was presented. First, anyone who has recent experience with college costs will understand that $1400 does not go very far in supporting the costs of an academic year. For example, at Michigan State University we estimate it will cost at least $2500 for a single in-state resident student. An out-of-state student can expect costs of at least $3500. MSU is a state-supported institution and costs are generally lower than those at a private school. Where will a poor black from Detroit get the additional $1100 to attend MSU, let alone a Harvard or a Smith?

Second, under present aid programs, a needy student may qualify for almost $3000. So, while it is true that *more* students could be helped under the administration proposal, they could do so only because lesser amounts would be available to individual students. The black caucus had reason to mistrust the Nixon proposal because while it speaks to helping poor students to attend the schools of their choice no matter their location, in fact the limitations would mean that those who wanted higher education would *have* to attend local colleges and commute from their homes.

In awarding federal aid, financial aid officers must review the financial situation of each student *every* year. The exact amount of an award given the previous year cannot be guaranteed to a student for subsequent years because the family-need factor may change – for the better or for the worse. In order to assure that only needy students are aided, even the administration proposal would have to incorporate this practice. But those students with consistently high needs are given aid.

There are just three agencies that supply the financial-need analyses that are approved by the federal government for purposes of awarding federal funds. The acceptable analyses are those of the College Scholarship Service, The American College Testing Service, and the City Universities of New York. An additional federal-needs analysis system has been proposed under the Green bill for 1972-73. If a college or university is to award federal funds, one of the above analyses must be used. Federal guidelines firmly dictate the income and/or possible parental contribution levels at which federal aid will or will not be awarded. From experience I can say that Michigan State University is carefully audited; I presume the same is true of other institutions. Athletes on athletic tender are excluded by NCAA rules from receiving any federal or state funds. . . . Needy students are helped according to their degree of need. The problem is one of *funding* these programs for more needy students. The stir created by *how* aid will be distributed has served to draw even editors of *NR* away from that real problem.

Kathleen G. Wicks
Financial Aids Counselor
Michigan State University

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sirs:

Sure we need better funding for schools ("Paying for Good Schools," December 11) but the OEO tuition voucher plan is hardly an intelligent way to go about it. Under this scheme we could have a proliferation of John Birch, Minutemen, and other extremist schools. Racists could set up "open enrollment" schools to which no black would think of applying and would still comply with OEO regulations. Kids would apply to a dozen "good" schools in the hope of being accepted by one. Educational planning would be pure chaos. Every church would be tempted to set up sectarian schools to compete with the churches that now operate schools. All education would disintegrate.

The OEO has tried to persuade San Jose, Calif. – half Chicano, 13 percent black community – into going along with a voucher experiment, but the people just aren't buying. They want better public schools, not public funding of religious and private schools. The California Senate Finance Committee, in scrapping the Ryan voucher demonstration bill, was following the wishes of California voters.

Carl Hersh
Silver Spring, Md.

Johnson, *from page 24*

Avco Corporation filmed one-minute messages by selected citizens for its commercials on a golf tournament it sponsored. In some cases, programming by and for minorities has allowed relative autonomy for the participants.

Given the lack of direct access, who owns the stations is extremely important. Radio and television station ownership – especially in the larger markets – is virtually locked up. Far less than 1 percent of the nation's stations are owned by members of minority groups. This makes the effort for minority, community and cooperative, nonprofit ownership of cable systems especially important.

Of course there is no reason why a station need always be run by the same manager or group. England's most profitable station (in London) is run during the week by Thames Television and on weekends by London Weekend. There are stations that share time here, too. Why not encourage such arrangements – especially for anyone inclined to keep stations on the air during hours they're now silent (say, midnight to 6:00 a.m.)? Why not require managers to share time so long as there are more qualified individuals or groups in any community than there are available stations?

No matter what the ease of "access," no democratic system will work unless we begin to provide ourselves – and our children – as much training and equipment for making radio and television programs as for writing.

The mass media can be made to work in ways that bridge the purposes of the First Amendment and the technological and economic requirements of modern day television. We needn't – necessarily – abolish commercial television to get there. But it's going to require a lot of imagination, action by public interest law firms, at least a little bit of cooperation from the industry, understanding by the public and good luck.

Personals

VOLUNTEERS FOUNDING VIETNAM UNIVERSITY – educators, sociologists, businessmen, technologists, samaritans. Participate in U.S. or Vietnam. Mr. Porr (212) 691-7978, 334 W. 89 Street, New York 10024

PHYSICIAN-SEMI-RETIRED seeks companionship sincere woman 40-50. Greater New York area. New Republic Box 5060.

CAMPAIGN BUTTONS, Bumper stickers manufactured. Fargo Rubber Stamp, Fargo, N.D.

PRESIDENT McGOVERN '72: Bumper stickers, literature $1.00. University of Kentucky Students for McGovern, Blazer Hall, Box 3 University of Kentucky, Lexington Ky., 40506

SAN FRANCISCO PAINTER wants gentle, responsible male company 40-50. New Republic Box 5065

LEFTY? or love someone who is? Products designed with leftys in mind. Can opener, Playing cards, Scissors, Others. Brochure 25¢ The Aristera Organization, Dept. N5, 9 Rice's Lane, Westport, Conn. 06880

RAZA UNIDA PARTY: People's Coalition Seeking social justice in Texas needs your donations. Posters, decals, ribbons, buttons for sale. Box 271, Crystal City, Texas 78839

I REQUIRE A "Dating Service" That

- ☐ has the enlightened versatility to match flower children and Wall Street tycoons (although only sometimes with each other).
- ☐ has a proven, unbroken record of reliability since 1966.
- ☐ has outlived the frenzied anonymity of New York's "singles" fads while daring to be selective. Specializing exclusively in the more cultivated, intelligent, literary community.
- ☐ offers exhaustive, individual processing by expert consultants. A bolder, meticulously insightful questionnaire to illuminate you as well.
- ☐ A LOOK AT YOUR OUTSTANDING QUESTIONNAIRE. Free from MIND MATES, Bureau for Interpersonal Relations, 1 E. 42nd Street, NYC 10017, MU 2-3757.

SLEEP-LEARNING: HYPNOTISM! Strange catalogue free. Autosuggestion, Box 24 – NR, Olympia, Washington.

ALPHAPHONE® headset – brainwave trainer. Free literature. Aquarius Electronics, Box 627-Q, Mendocino, California 95460.

TYPEING MESTEAKS CORRECTED in seconds with self correcting ribbon. Send typewriter make, model, plus $3.00. Packer's, Box 97-B3 Fort Collins, Colorado 80521.

BLOW YOURSELF UP! 1½'x2' poster of anyone. Send returned snapshot $3.00. Pierpoint Products, Box 678, Inglewood, Calif. 90307.

DELIGHTFUL, EDUCATIONAL VACATIONING, Fasting, Reducing, Rejuvenation. Health Education. Peaceful surroundings. Cooperative employment available. SHANGRI-LA, Bonita Springs, Florida 33923 – NR.

ABOLISH ALL ABORTION LAWS without exception. The right of each adult human to own his or her own body is the paramount moral law, without exception, – AAAL, P.O. Box 36122, Los Angeles, California 90036.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS IN DEPTH, $10.00 and sample to Elisabeth King, 41 E. 29th St., New York 10016.

McCARTHY DAISIES AVAILABLE. Write – McCarthy for President, 107 McColl Building, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101. DONATIONS APPRECIATED

NASTY NIXON, HOOVER ceramic caricature piggybanks hold $500.00 in change. $4.95 each, $5.95 west of Mississippi. Effete Industries, P.O. Box 450 Newton, Mass. 02161

DISSERTATIONS, THESES, Professional writing, editing, typing. Reasonable. Confidential. Deadlines met! Quality Services; 2345 W. Taylor; Chicago, Ill. 60612.

HELP AN UNDERPRIVILEGED AMERICAN INDIAN CHILD to remain in school, and have a new friend who needs you. $15 monthly. F.F.C. phone 301-652-0536.

McGOVERN buttons, bumperstickers: 3/$1. Special photo button: $1. Mobile $2. Bulk rates. Proceeds to campaign. McGovern Committee, P.O. Box 472, Vermillion, S.Dak., 57069.

KODACOLOR! PRICE-BREAKOUT -- Perfect prints, 8 or 12-shot rolls, $2; 20-shot rolls, $3; 36-shot rolls, $5. Money-back guarantee. We pay postage both ways! Send $$ and film; write for mailer. Mystic Color Lab, Box R-144, Mystic, Conn. 06355.

FAMILY TREE CHARTS – Genealogy Supplies, Books. Free "How To" Catalog. FORMCO, Box 3828-XR, Long Beach, California 90803.

Peace Personals

PATCHES & APPLIQUE (over 200), POSTERS (over 275, many anti-war), BUTTONS (135), BUMPERSTICKERS (50) and other peace items. Wholesale & retail. Catalogue with pictures 25¢ (refund 1st order). BIG-LITTLE STORE, 1077 Mission, San Francisco, California 94103.

"McGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT" Bumperstickers, 5/$1; Buttons, 4/$1; Matchbooks, 50/$1; Emery Boards, 10/$1. McGovern Products, Box 10002, Kansas City, Missouri 64111.

Literature

HARRISBURG 8 TRIAL – in depth weekly coverage $5/6mos., $8/yr. HARRISBURG INDEPENDENT PRESS 1004A N. 3rd. St. Harrisburg, Pa. 17102.

UNUSUAL/LOW-COST BOOKS! Free list Erickson Sales, 3915 Carpenter, Bronx, New York 10466

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE LITERATURE. Young Atheist League, Box 244, Seattle, Washington 98111.

FREE BOOK, Prophet Elijah Coming Before Christ. Megiddo Mission, Dept. 72, 481 Thurston Road Rochester, N.Y. 14619.

LAST WHOLE EARTH CATALOG, 448 pages, $5.35. Bookpost, 2770D Broadway, NYC 10025

LABOR CLASSIC of 1894, THE PULLMAN STRIKE, (Carwardine) now reprinted by Illinois Labor History Society, Room 1900, 205 W. Wacker Drive, Chicago 60606. $8.00 cloth . . . $2.50 paper . . . Nice Gift.

Authors

PUBLISH YOUR OWN BOOK. We print few as 200 copies paperback, hard cover, pamphlets. Quality, economy, and cooperation. FREE Details. Graphicopy, Box 285R, Floral Park, N.Y. 11011.

WRITERS – "UNSALABLE" BOOK MANUSCRIPT? Try AUTHOR AID ASSOCIATES, 340 East 52nd Street, New York City 10022.

Schools

COLLEGE ADMISSIONS AND TRANSFERS – Specializing in difficult cases – undergraduates, college transfers, medical, law, veterinarian, graduate. College Admissions Center of N.Y. 102-30 Queens Boulevard, Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375 or call "Richard Collins" 212-BR5-2900.

SUMMERHILL ORIENTED SCHOOL – Modified free school approach. All academic classes and activities: English, reading, science, music, drama, math, art, crafts, riding, organic gardening, pottery, camping, animals, etc. Freedom with responsibility-Learning because it's exciting, not compulsory. Boarding school (optional weekends at home) 2 hrs. N.Y.C., Ages 6-13. Open Community School, Box 5R, Claverack, New York, 12513 (518) 851-3311.

Camps

THE PUTNEY WORK CAMP provides an experience that integrates work and recreation, the arts and current concerns. A vitalizing summer with well selected contemporaries in a country setting. Co-ed, ages 13-17. The Putney School, Putney, Vt. 05346. 802-387-4212

Employment Opportunities

WANTED – HIP YOUNG DOCTOR-G.P. – work in young counter-culture environment in community clinic. Exciting work. Write Dave Bearman M.D. – 970 Embarcadero Del Mar, Isla Vista, California 93017

LONGHAIRS NEEDED IN Consciousness III capitalism, import business in Mexico, Guatamala. P.O. Box 1836 Eagle Pass, Texas 78852. (512) 773-6526.

PEOPLE-ORIENTED? Profit-minded? Expanding ecology-conscious international organization offers unique opportunity. No office work, choose your hours and associates. For interview in your area write: Robert Weil, 610 W. 196 St. New York, New York 10040. Include your phone number, please.

AUSTRALIA WANTS YOU!!! Government Assisted Passage. 1972 Government Information and Forms – Most Complete Information Available – $1.00. Reports on Employment, Business, Taxes, Education, Teaching, Housing, Ranching, Maps, etc. AUSTCO Box 3623-EE Long Beach, California 90803.

AUSTRALIA NEEDS YOU- Latest information describing government assisted passage, employment, business, teaching etc. plus forms $1.00. Directory of U.S. businesses there $1.50. Both $2.00. Australian Services, Box 1032MB Fairborn, Ohio 45324

WORK IN DEVELOPING MEXICO. Rapid advancement, negligible taxes, inexpensive entertainment, pleasant living, peace. List of 200 United States, international, Mexican companies. Immigration procedure. $4.00 Infomex, NR 1271, Box 366, Berea, Ohio 44017.

EXCITING OVERSEAS JOBS. Directory $1.00. Research Associates, Box 889-N, Belmont, California 94002.

EUROPEAN-FOREIGN EMPLOYMENT –Detailed report on currently available jobs – Europe, Australia, Africa, $3.00. Eurojob Report, Box 52643-P, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

Spare Time

HOW TO MAKE MONEY WRITING short paragraphs. Information free. Barrett, Dept. C-456-D, 6216 N. Clark, Chicago 60660

Property-Sale-Rent

Moving to Cleveland? Shaker Heights offers: A nationally recognized school system; nearness to Greater Cleveland's cultural-education center and to downtown; forward looking integrated communities. Attractive suburban homes and apartments for sale and rent. Contact the Shaker Communities 3494 Lee Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120, 216-751-2155

GOVERNMENT LANDS. . . Low as $3.50 Acre! Vacationing, Homesteading, Investment! Exclusive "Government Land Buyer's Guide" . . . plus "Land Opportunity Review" listing lands available throughout U.S., send $1.00. Surplus Lands, Box 19107-SM, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Vacations/Travel

PUERTO RICO BEACH HOUSE – Costa Azul at Luquillo, 3 bedrooms, yard, terraces. Fully equipped kitchen, linens, washing machine. Comfortable private, convenient to other resort areas. For rent weekly. Edward Pinney, 148 E. 78 Street, New York, New York 10021

IRELAND IN THE 19th CENTURY. Dublin, Waterford and Cork, castles and country houses. Town planning, architectural history and the decorative arts. The Victorian Society's 7th Study Tour, June 23-July 3. c/o Victorian Society in America, East Washington Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 19106

SAN FRANCISCO ON A BUDGET? Charming, centrally located. Hotel Beresford, 635 Sutter Street.

CHARTER FLIGHT HANDBOOK, 1,100 organizations named. Particulars free. TIB, P.O. Box 105n, Kings Park, N.Y. 11754.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE-$1.75. Rates, schedules, 700 passenger carrying freighters. TravL tips, 40-21 JHB Bell, Bayside, N.Y. 11361.

Health

VITAMIN EEEE ADDS "AH" TO YOUR LIFE. Stabilized natural vitamin E. Purest standardized N.F. XIII d'Alpha Tocopherol Acetate. 200 i.u. concentrated. 150 capsules plus 50 free only $5.00; 450 capsules plus 150 free, only $11.00. All orders postpaid. Immediate delivery. Send check or M.O. Banian Ltd., Box 288, Great Neck, New York 11020

Greenery

FLOWER POWER—1 dozen long-stemmed exotic Anthuriums (last 2-4 weeks) airmailed special delivery from Hawaii; only $9.00, prepaid. Fresh arrival guaranteed anywhere in the U.S. Island Flowers. Box 4841. Chicago, Ill. 60680

Gourmet/Cookery

SHALLOTS, SECRET OF FRENCH CUISINE. Imported, free recipes. Quarter pound $1.00 – One pound $3.50 Postpaid, guaranteed Elegance Foods, Avon, N.Y. 14414

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure, Grace Tea Importers, Dept. 21, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003.

Arts and Crafts

LITHOGRAPHS, ETCHINGS: Chagall, Miro. Reasonable. Illustrated catalogue, 50¢. George Kirschner, 90-59 56 Avenue, Elmhurst, New York 11373.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Box 28F, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

"GETTING STARTED IN STAINED GLASS" 30¢. Whittemore, Box 2965PP, Hanover, Massachusetts 02339.

APPALACHIAN QUILTS, a quality product, from $25.00 and up. Write Pike County Citizens Association, Box 10, Hellier, Kentucky 41534.

19th CENTURY ART: reproductions of Homer, Remington, Gibson, many others. Catalog 25¢. Golden Age Press, Box 3196, Boulder, Colo. 80303.

Records/Tapes

FREE 162-PAGE CATALOG offers over 1,000 fine recordings of Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and Modern music. All late stereo recordings. Highest quality at budget label prices. Available only by mail from MUSICAL HERITAGE SOCIETY, Box 932 NR, New York, New York 10023.

Music

HARPSICHORDS with the most beautiful sound, from North America's leading makers. For catalog send 25¢ to: SABATHIL & SON, Dept. 2, 1084 Homer, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

APPALACHIAN DULCIMERS – Handmade. From $40.00. Instructions. Max Wilson, Rt. 3, Paoli, -Indiana.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) . . . . . 60¢
Per word 6 times in one contract year . . . . . 55¢
Per word 12 times in one contract year . . . . 50¢
Per word 24 times in one contract year . . . 45¢
Per word 48 times in one contract year . . . 40¢

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year

24 & 48 Insertions Billed Monthly with One Month's Payment in Advance.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The answers to some questions frequently asked by our sponsors

If you are considering sponsoring a child through the Christian Children's Fund, certain questions may occur to you. Perhaps you will find them answered here.

Q. What does it cost to sponsor a child? A. Only $12 per month. (Your gifts are tax deductible.)

Q. May I choose the child I wish to help? A. You may indicate your preference of boy or girl, age, and country. Many sponsors allow us to select a child from our emergency list.

Q. Will I receive a photograph of my child? A. Yes, and with the photograph will come a case history plus a description of the Home or Project where your child receives help.

Q. How long does it take before I learn about the child assigned to me? A. You will receive your personal sponsor folder in about two weeks, giving you complete information about the child you will be helping.

Q. May I write to my child? A. Yes. In fact, your child will write to you a few weeks after you become a sponsor. Your letters are translated by one of our workers overseas. You receive your child's original letter, plus an English translation, direct from the home or project overseas.

Q. What help does the child receive from my support? A. In countries of great poverty, such as India, your gifts provide total support for a child. In other countries your sponsorship gives the children benefits that otherwise they would not receive, such as diet supplements, medical care, adequate clothing, school supplies.

Q. What type of projects does CCF support overseas? A. Besides the orphanages and Family Helper Projects CCF has homes for the blind, abandoned babies homes, day care nurseries, health homes, vocational training centers, and many other types of projects.

Q. Who supervises the work overseas? A. Regional offices are staffed with both Americans and nationals. Caseworkers, orphanage superintendents, housemothers, and other personnel must meet high professional standards—plus have a deep love for children.

Q. Is CCF independent or church operated? A. Independent. CCF is incorporated as a nonprofit organization. We work closely with missionaries of 41 denominations. No child is refused entrance to a Home because of creed or race.

Q. When was CCF started, and how large is it now? A. 1938 was the beginning, with one orphanage in China. Today, over 100,000 children are being assisted in 55 countries. However, we are not interested in being "big." Rather, our job is to be a bridge between the American sponsor, and the child being helped overseas.

Q. May I visit my child? A. Yes. Our Homes around the world are delighted to have sponsors visit them. Please inform the superintendent in advance of your scheduled arrival.

Q. May groups sponsor a child? A. Yes, church classes, office workers, civic clubs, schools and other groups. We ask that one person serve as correspondent for a group.

Q. Are all the children orphans? A. No. Although many of our children are orphans, youngsters are helped primarily on the basis of need. Some have one living parent unable to care for the child properly. Others come to us because of abandonment, broken homes, parents unwilling to assume responsibility, or serious illness of one or both parents.

Q. How can I be sure that the money I give actually reaches the child? A. CCF keeps close check on all children through field offices, supervisors and caseworkers. Homes and Projects are inspected by our staff. Each home is required to submit an annual audited statement.

Little Mie-Wen in Formosa already knows many things . . . the gnawing of hunger . . . the shivering of fear . . . the misery of being unwanted.

But she has never known love. Her mother died when she was born. Her father was poor—and didn't want a girl child. So Mie-Wen has spent her baby years without the affection and security every child craves.

Your love can give Mie-Wen, and children just as needy, the privileges you would wish for your own child.

Through Christian Children's Fund you can sponsor one of these youngsters. We use the word sponsor to symbolize the bond of love that exists between you and the child.

The cost? Only $12 a month. Your love is demonstrated in a practical way because your money helps with nourishing meals . . . medical care . . . warm clothing . . . education . . . understanding housemothers . . .

And in return you will receive your child's personal history, photograph, plus a description of the orphanage where your child lives. You can write and send packages. Your child will know who you are and will answer your letters. Correspondence is translated at our overseas offices.

(If you want your child to have a special gift—a pair of shoes, a warm jacket, a fuzzy bear—you can send your check to our office, and the *entire amount* will be forwarded, along with your instructions.)

Will you help? Requests come from orphanages every day. And they are urgent. Children wrapping rags on their feet, school books years out of date, milk supplies exhausted, babies abandoned by unwed mothers.

Since 1938, thousands of American sponsors have found this to be an intimate person-to-person way of sharing their blessings with youngsters around the world.

Little Mie-Wen and children like her need your love—won't you help? Today?

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in: India, Brazil, Taiwan (Formosa), Mexico and Philippines. (Or let us select a child for you from our emergency list.)

Write today: Verent J. Mills

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc.

Box 26511, Richmond, Va. 23261

I wish to sponsor a ☐ boy ☐ girl in (Country)_____

☐ Choose a child who needs me most. I will pay $12 a month.

I enclose first payment of $_____. Send me child's name, story, address and picture.

I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____.

☐ Please send me more information.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Registered (VFA-080) with the U.S. Government's Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid. Gifts are tax deductible. Canadians: Write 1407 Yonge, Toronto 7.

NR 7910

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

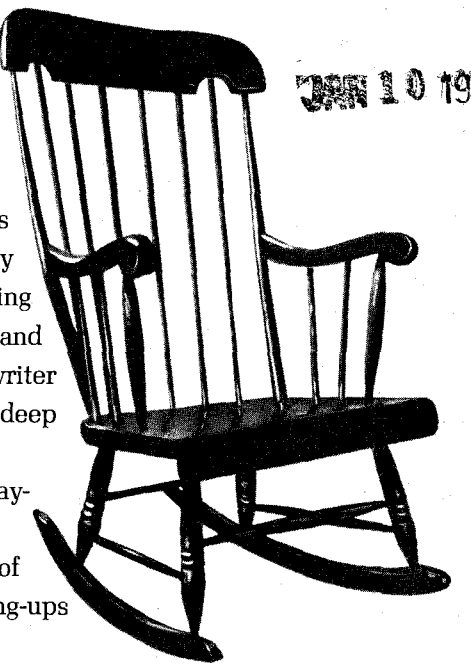
SEX IN OLD AGE.

Before you start snickering, start reading.

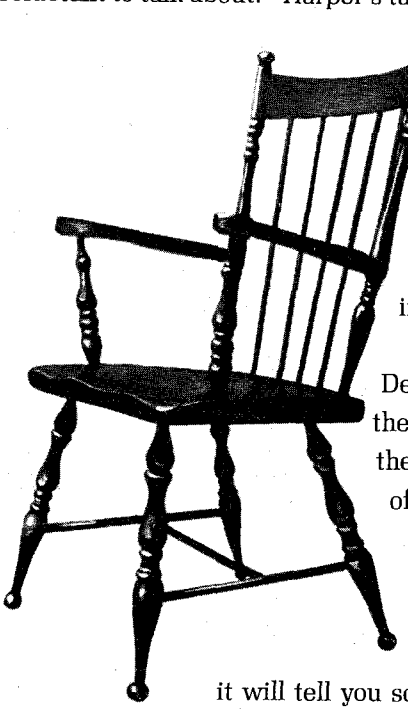
RITTER LIBRARY
BALDWIN-WALLACE
COLLEGE

Older people may have a better sex life than yours.

But you'll probably never know. Because—even in today's permissive society—sexuality in old age is one thing that everybody is reluctant to talk about. *Harper's* talks about it.



JAN 10 1977



In the current issue, Simone de Beauvoir examines candidly and explicitly the many faces of love among the elderly. Using fascinating case histories of the great and the famous, this provocative French writer shows how sexual drives may continue deep into one's seventies and eighties.

Simone de Beauvoir probes May-December romances. And the plight of the widowed. The biological handicaps of the aging male, and the psychological hang-ups of the female.

Some men and women, says the author, use old age as a refuge from sex. Others find joyous renewal. But *all* must face the revulsion or ridicule of younger people, who cannot accept the reality of sex in old age.

Read "Joie de Vivre" in the current *Harper's*. No matter what your age, it will tell you some surprising things about sexual attitudes—and activities—in the U.S. today. It may also tell you something about yourself.

Also in January Harper's:

PEARL HARBOR IN REVERSE: How Japan's businessmen are resisting America's surprise attack on the Japanese economy—and winning...*GLORY AVENUE AND HALLELUJAH STREET:* Is white gospel singing the next musical sensation?...*HOCKEY FANATICS:* The game is homicidal, but the real killers are in the stands...*SOUL IN SUBURBIA:* Will the black middle class face up to its responsibilities?... *THE SAYINGS OF POOR RUSSELL:* Baker, that is. With a treasure trove of wry aphorisms...*And a plethora of other articles, fiction, reviews.*

Subscribe now at 50% saving.

Even the price of *Harper's* is appealing, these days. For new subscribers, there's a special introductory offer: twelve issues for only $4.25. That's half the regular subscription price—and a saving of $7.75 off the newsstand price. Hard to resist? Don't even try. You'll enjoy the exciting variety—and the vitality—of *Harper's*. Guaranteed. Or we'll refund your money on any issues unmailed. So, mail the coupon today, won't you?

A MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE FROM

Harper's Magazine

2 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

Send me the next twelve months of *Harper's* at the special introductory rate, for new subscribers, of $4.25—half the regular subscription price. If I'm not satisfied at any time, you'll refund my money on all unmailed issues.

☐ **Double my savings. Send 24 months for only $8.50.**

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____

STATE_____ ZIP_____

☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Bill me 074

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED